

THE
SPEECHES,
DISCOURSES,
AND
PRAYERS,
OF

Col. JOHN BARKSTEAD,
Col. JOHN OKER, and
Mr. MILES CORBET;

Upon the 19th of *April*, being the Day of their
Suffering at *T B & R N*.

Together with an *Account* of the Occasion and Manner of
their Taking in *Holland*: As also of their several Oc-
casional *Speeches, Discourses, and Letters*, both be-
fore, and in the time of their late Imprisonment.

Faithfully and Impartially Collected, for a
general Satisfaction,

Prov. 29. 26. *Every Man's Judgement cometh from the Lord,*
Heb. 11. 13. *Theſe all dyed in Faith.*

Printed in the Year, 1662.

THE
SPEECHES
DISCOURSES
PRAYERS

OF
JAMES O. JOHNSON
OF
THE
METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
IN
AMERICA
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To the READER.

READER,

Thou art here presented with a most famous and pregnant Instance of the weakness and incapacity of Death; yea, of the worst of Deaths, to disturb, or in the least to compose the Spirits of Saints, who through the Faith of the Gospel have entered into Rest. Death is indeed a King of Terrors to the children of this world, but it is neither King nor terrible to him, in whose heart the Peace of God rules and reigns. Christ hath said, Oh Death, I will be thy death: how can it then have any Terror in it, when there is no life in it? how no more to a Believer than a dead or painted Lion, which because of the want of life, can upon no other account be reckoned terrible.

We have seen Death conquered before our faces, and a company of poor frail men, subject to like passions with our selves, enabled by the Lord to bid defiance to that, the fear of which makes the highest and greatest of men all their lifetime subject to Bondage. Certainly these men did familiarize Death to themselves, by those many qualified and wise Notions of it which do so frequently occur in Scripture. Job calls it a going to bed, and a lying down to rest and sleep; a hiding in the Grave, till the indignation be overpast, a great and signal change infinitely for our advantage: yea, he looks upon it as that which is a near relation to him, calling it his Father, Mother, and Sister. Oldimeon calls it but a Discharge from our Imprisonment, and the Apostle looks upon it as a way to bring unto Jesus Christ, which is best of all.

Surely, these men had no other apprehensions of Death than what did comfort with all the foregoing Scriptural Representations.

tions of it, whereof we have a most plain and clear Evidence, in
Istiah that they did without the least fear play on the hole of this Asp,
 11. 8. and with so much courage put their hand on the den of this Co-
 natrice; and so often with Agag (though in a more elevated
 sense, and upon far better grounds) express with so great and
 1 Sam. open confidence, that the bitterness of Death was past. And sure-
 15. 32. ly, upon a serious and impartial reflexion upon the several Pas-
 sages contained in the ensuing Narrative, relating to the Lives
 and Deaths of these men, the best grounded and the most critical
 Charity (notwithstanding the Obliquity and Odium that lies up-
 on the Fact for which they suffered) will command us to hope and
 believe, that they were wondrously supported and strengthened by
 Job. 18. the Lord, to drink of that bitter Cup which their Father had given
 11. them. We cannot but believe that while they did run with
 Heb. 12. such patience the Race which was set before them, they did look
 1. 2. to JESUS their fore-runner, the Author and Finisher of their
 Faith, and so for the Joy that was set before them, endured
 Rev. 3. the Cross, and despised the Shame; and, having overcome, are
 21. now set down with CHRIST upon his Throne, even as He
 came and is set down with his Father on his Throne. What
 remaineth then, but that we should be continually above the fear
 of Death, which looks most ghastly at a distance; but when we
 approach it, and begin to converse with it, we find that it hath
 neither strength nor sting; and though before we came near to
 it, we suspected it to be an Enemy, yet now we perceive it is a
 Friend, and comes to us only upon this errand, to let us know
 that the Bridegroom stays for us, and would have us partake
 of his Joy by a present entrance with Him into the Bride Cham-
 ber. Yea, though thy Death comes in great Pomp and Solem-
 nity in its fiery Chariot, yet do thou rather for this smile
 upon it, and give it a cheerful welcome. For if Believers are
 capable of any honour in this world, it is that they are ac-
 counted worthy to suffer for the Name and Cause of their Lord
 and Master JESUS CHRIST. This was that which gave
 Phil. 1. the Church at Philippi the preeminence, that unto them it was
 29. given in the behalf of CHRIST, not only to believe on him,
 but also to Suffer for his sake. Oh if the Servants of God did
 but believe this, there would be as much crowding at the Court
 of Heaven for this Preferment, as there is at the Courts of earth.

To the READER.

ly Princes for Promotion and Advancement in their Church and State. How did the primitive Christians long for Martyrdom, seeking and pursuing after it: publicly and boldly to the very Teeth of the Tyrants and Persecutors proclaiming their Christianity, and therewith their zeal and readiness to water it with their Blood. If we are not attained to this, yet let us with much courage and chearfulness conflict with it when it first sets upon us; let the Gibbet and the Stake be the most pleasant and delightful prospects to us, when the Providence of GOD for Christ's Cause and Interest brings us to them: being assured of this, that if the LORD vouchsafe so much of his comforting and supporting Presence to his People, who declaredly suffer for Him, in a Cause that is at least very doubtful to many good and holy men, then He will much more stand by those who lay down their Lives in behalf of that which is clear and certain to all, and concerning the truth of which we are compassed about with so great a Cloud of Witnesses.

Hebr.
13. 1.

Let not therefore the Worm Jacob be discouraged, seeing the LORD hath promised to be with him, to strengthen him, to help him, and to uphold him with the right hand of his Righteousness. Only look well to the settling of your Spiritual State, else your hearts will not be quiet and settled when you come to dye. Get an Interest in JESUS CHRIST, who alone hath abolished Death, and brought Life and Im-
mortality to light through the Gospel: If thou art in
CHRIST, then though thou dyest, the Covenant is still alive; the Relation of GOD to Abraham was as firme and strong when he had been a long time dead, as when he was alive; therefore sayes he, I AM the God of Abraham, &c.

2 Tim.
1. 10.

Matth.
22. 32.

And to conclude. Get your hearts loosened from this present evil World, be ye first crucified to the World, and then it will be no great matter to you to be crucified by the World; do as the Patriarchs did, Confess your selves to be Strangers and Pilgrimes on the Earth, and then you will not think it strange concerning the Fiery Tryal which you are here exercised with.

Hebr.
11. 13.
1 Pet.

This was certainly the happiness of these three Sufferers: GOD had throughly weaned them from all things below Himself;

4. 12.

TO THE READER

*Altho: Therefore how freely and cheerfully do they leave all for
C. H. R. I. S. T. This will be evident to all that will carefully
and impartially peruse the following Account of the several
holy and gracious words which did distil from them; like the
Rain and the Dew, during the time of their Imprisonment;
as also their several godly Letters and Epistles written to their
Christian Friends and Relations, in and about the City of Lon-
don; together with their Discourses, Speeches, and Prayers at
the time of their Execution. All which have been with care
and faithfulness collected from the most authentick hands.*

*Some other material Passages concerning all, or at least some
of these men, remain yet unpublished, but are faithfully reserved
for a fitter Opportunity. In the mean time we remit the Reader
to what is here collected, and are at prayer for a Blessing up-
on it.*

*Some further Passages are coming from Holland, which are
faithfully communicated, and may be speedily published.*

A Brief Narrative of Colonel Okey, Col. Barkstead and Miles Corbet Esquire their departure out of England, their Christian carriage, and the kind reception they found in all places where they came; Together with the unparalleled Treachery and inhumanity exercised by Sir G. D. In decoying them to, and apprehending them at Delph. As also their surreptitious imbarquing thence, and Transporting to the Tower of London.

THE three Persons who are the Subject of this ensuing Narrative being involved in one, and the same danger did since the Kings coming in at several times, and from several Places Ship themselves for *Holland* and where after many great Difficulties and Hazards which they conflicted with (too long to be here inserted) they safely arrived. Two of them, *viz. Col. Barkstead* and *Col. Okey* after a short stay in *Holland* did travel up higher into the Country, and at length settled themselves at a Town called *Hana* in *High Germany*, where by their good carriage and obliging Conversation they obtained the favour and privilege to be enrolled free Burgers of the said Town or City. They continued there for many Moneths in good Esteem and Acceptation with the Inhabitants, and with great endearment of Affections to each other. Some urgent occasions inviting and constraining *Col. Barkstead* to return for *Holland*: *Col. Okey* out of mere kindnesse and respects to his Friend and Companion resolves to accompany him, and so both of them took their first conveniency and Embarque for *Holland*; having before received encouragement to undertake the Voyage from a Friend whom they had employed to solicit some of the States General, that they might abide for a short time within their Jurisdiction unmolested; To which, as their Friend informed them, they did most freely and willingly condescend. Another also was more particularly engaged by *Col. Okey* to acquaint *Sir George Downing* (the Kings Resident now in *Holland*) with their intentions of coming speedily into that Countrey, in case they might for a few days remain there in safety, and that he had no order from the King his Master to seize them. *Sir George* did assure that Gentleman that he

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had

had no order from the King to apprehend or molest them, but that they might be as free and safe there as himself. Upon this last encouragement they did very much depend, *Col. Okey* especially being confident that *Sir George Downing* had a particular kindness for him who gave him his first bread in *England*, and by whose single interest at first he was advantaged to ascend so many steps of preferment till he was thereby raised to a capacity to engage his present Majesty to reflect the rayes of his favour upon him, and to commit a Trust of so much Profit and Honour to him: And it is to be wished that he prove not as prodigiously Treacherous to his Latter as he did to his former Master. This Generous and Plain-hearted *Col.* (who took a measure of all men by himself) did without the least Hesitation repose a great deal of Trust and Confidence in one whom he had been Instrumental to raise from the dust: Little thinking that his *New-England* Tortured Chaplain whom he Cloathed, and Fed at his Table, and who dipped with him in his own dish should prove like the Devil among the twelve to his Lord and Master. But whether will not Light and a Religious Profession debauched and sisted precipitate a dunghill earthly-minded man, whose gain is Godliness. This is the Runagado that will not in the least stick at the greatest violation of the Laws of Humanity, that with Delight and Pleasure can lick up the very vomit of a Heathen. They had not been long in *Holland* before their occasions called them to *Delft*, whereof the forementioned Knight had timely notice by one of his Spyes employed for that purpose, and having in readiness a Warrant from the States General for the seizing of them, he immediately by a most horrid lye drew in a person to be Instrumental in the apprehending of them, who when he came to know who they were did mourn bitterly for it, and said he looked upon it as a very great Judgement of God upon him that he should be trapped into a designe he so much detested and abhorred. But the Knight and his ruffainly crew without the least sense of Humanity or Honour, having certain knowledge of their Arrival at *Delft* did the very same night proceed upon their design, and took them at their Lodging, together with *Mr. Corbet*, who upon notice had that they were in Town, went only to give them a visit, and it being late was even ready to take his leave of them, but Providence kept him there till he with the other two his Companions in
his

to the Kings Bench Bar to receive Judgement, having been already by Act of Parliament attaynted of High Treason for compassing the death of the late King *Charles the First*. After a very short dispute whether the Prisoners at the Bar were the Persons named in the forementioned Act of Attainder yea or no. Witnesses being produced, who made full proof in the Affirmative, and the Prisoners themselves confessing it, the Jury without going from the Bar, gave in their Verdict that they were the Persons named in the said Act, whereupon Judgement was given against them accordingly. After Sentence was given they were remanded back to the Tower, and in what frame of Spirit they were, and how full of Joy and Peace in believing, and how sweetly and patiently both to themselves and others, they spent that little time which remained from the day of their Tryal to the day of their Suffering, the following Collection of the occasional Speeches and Discourses which fell from them will abundantly testifie.

Their Opinion of the Covenant.

In Satisfaction to many Friends that much desired to know what their opinions were as to the *Covenant*, and the late proceedings against it, and also what they thought of the *Condition* of these Nations, they freely and fully upon occasion still answered, and largely discoursed to this effect.

Truly, said they, we can affirm and do affirm it, that it was in pursuance of the *Covenant* that we acted, and that in defence of it we now suffer, and doubt not, but in due time God will own his Cause and this *Covenant*, and in such a manner too, as shall be to the amazement, yea, to the Horror and Confusion of them that oppose it; and of others also, the heretofore professed Friends of it, who have lately acted so strangely upon it. Was it ever imagined that any of the very first and strictest Composers and urgers of this *Covenant* either Here or in Scotland, should deal with it, as they have done? That they should divide the civil part of it from the Religious, and whilst their Zeal is all in a flame for the former, they should be key-cold for the latter, leaving that to the utmost Hazzard which was the main, if not almost the whole Concernment and Intendment of it? Is it likely that God will long bear with such juggling as this? Or can any expect that it will passe in the Day of their Accounts? Men may think to baffle with God, and their

their own *Consciences*, to invent shifts, distinctions, pretences, and put fair glosses on their Actions: but let them not be deceived, God is not mocked, he never was, and never will be, as they will find at last if they repent not.

When some mentioned the burning of the Covenant, and by Authority of Parliament too, Why, what then (said they) what though the Common Hangman hath made Bonfires of it? yet is the Obligation to it burned also? No verily, it neither is nor can be, nor is it any humane Law that can take it off, but still it doth and will abide in full force and virtue, either to be conscientiously performed by them that are under it, or to be severely pleaded against them, if they neglect it.

But it seems the Covenant must be abjured also, and is abjured already by some, and this by a Publick Law too, from the Peoples representatives in Parliament, and so is made the Act of the whole Nation. Be astonished Oh Heavens! and tremble Oh Earth! Let the Sun itself be cloathed in blacknesse at this so horrid an impiety! what! abjure such a Covenant! a Covenant so Solemnly taken! a Covenant for the matter of it, so Religious! so Holy! so universally owned by three Nations! and owned in yea, Authorized by Parliament, sworn to by the King himself, a Covenant so zealously pressed upon Peoples Consciences! the force of which hath been so strongly urged and improved for the bringing his Majesty to the Throne! what! a Covenant that engageth to a Reformation! and a Reformation according to the best and highest Patterns! This Covenant abjured! and thus abjured! even by a Law! and upon such deep and and sore penalties! What is this but to bid defiance to God himself? yea, to put it to the Tryal whether there be a God or no, that doth indeed look down from Heaven upon the doings of men, (Psalm. 13. 2.) and whether he be such a God, as will avenge these things? Is it not his word that is made the Rule of this Covenanted Reformation? and was it not he himself, even his own All-knowing Divine Majesty, that was attested, and called in as a Witness to the sincerity of their hearts that took this Covenant, and that upon their own eternal Damnation or Salvation? And must this Covenant be abjured now? This Covenant? Is not Gods own Word, and God himself too after a sort abjured, in that Act, whoever are guilty of it? and what if some of those that do, or shall abjure it, or urge the abjuring of it upon others, have formerly been Professors of Religion, and so

So far Professors of it, that they have seemed to have been *in love with it*, delighted in it, and so to have *tasted of the powers of the World to come*, will not these of all others be the very chief of sinners, whilest they become guilty of no lesse than the very *sin against the Holy Ghost*? or at least border as near to it as possibly may be? *Oh amazing vengeance!* oh most dreadful of all *Judicial strokes* that can fall upon the *Reprobate* minds of men! May not the *dismal doom* of *Francis Spira* be here remembred? and *Solomons back-slides in heart*, who shall be filled with his own wayes? *Prov. 14. 14.* Though to commit murther upon the high way, and to do it *deliberately*, and in *cool blood* too, be a most horrid crime, a crime against the very *light of Nature*, and against the *second Table*: yet how short doth it come of this the *highest* of all crimes *imaginable*? a crime that murtheres *conscience*! that murtheres *souls*! that murtheres *Religion* it self! a crime against the *first Table*! most immediately against the *Sovereign God*! and the greatest of that nature that men can be guilty of. Indeed one sin more is found now common among us that comes the *nearest* to it of all others, and that is, not onely the *jeering* of godlinesse and godly men, but the *bittronical* acting of the Zeal and Affection, even the sweetest and warmest (such as the most *Gospel Ministers* are sometimes moved with in *Praying* and *Preaching*) by way of *mockery* and *derision* upon *Stage-Playes*. Oh horrible, horrible, horrible Abomination! even such an abomination that must needs make desolate! Oh tremendous fact! if this be not to do *despight* to the *spirit of grace*, what is? the corrupting and vitiating even the *Flower* of the three Nations in the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, as well as the *Youth* of the City, by the *Blasphemous*, *Obscene* and *Filthy Stage-Playes* as aforesaid; the polluting the eyes and hearts of *Common Spectators* even in the *open Streets*, by the many impudently *Spotted*, *Painted Faces*, and shamelessly exposed *nakednesse*; The most odious conversation of the *Pantaloone Gallants* (as they are called) with their *Bruitish Concubines* in *Stews* and *Brothel houses*, are but petty sins to these: Such as the *fleshy* and more *carnal* parts are ruined by, but those other sins reach *higher*, even to the *Superiour part*, the mind and conscience: not but that all sins even the least that are, have an influence upon the mind too, yet not to such *eminent* and manifold degrees of guilt as these. Did the poor deluded people ever intend these things? Did they imagine that matters

of this nature, would have been ever countenanced, yea enforced, and that by a *Law*? and among other things, did they ever mean or think that their *burning and shining lights* should be extinguished? or did they think it possible, it could have been done so soon at least? did they ever dream of such grossely Ignorant, Lazy, Sottish, Debauched wretches to be put into places of Preferment; and the *fat things* of the three Nations, some of them possessing, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, yea 9, or 10. Preferments together (not fully discharging anyone of them in their own persons, no, nor by their Deputies neither) whilst many hundreds, if not some thousands of Faithful, Painful, able Ministers, are wholly laid aside; they and their Families in the mean time being ready to *perish* for want of bread for their bodies, as well as the Congregations from whence they are thrust, are ready to *perish* for want of bread for their Souls? did they ever aim at the encouraging, or at least at the permitting of Priests and Jesuites to come swarming in among us, and that by thousands, from all forreign parts? (which we are well assured of since we have been abroad, and in some of those Countries too from whence they came) such busie and Industrious Agents they are for their Great Master the Pope, and so successful already that they boldly affirm it in Print, that there is a common favour voted for them in this Nation, as may be seen and read in one of those three Popish Books of Contention between the said Priests and Jesuites among themselves, which were lately Printed and Sold Publicly at the Exchange. Sure by this time the eyes of City and Country must needs be opened (unless they are wholly given up to blindness) to see their too late lamented mistakes, especially in the *choises* they have made, or been constrained to make. Now the poor Under tenants that have given their vote as their Landlords pleased; now the abused Inhabitants of Towns and Corporations that have gratified the letters of their powerful solicitors, or menacers rather, for men, that either they never knew, or could never have any tolerable satisfaction in may see and feel unto their sorrow what miseries they have brought upon themselves and their posterities, when their few remaining lights are all quite put out, when darkness, thick darkness covers them, when they are ready to *perish* for want of vision, Prov. 19. 18. and a little time hath brought in that woful ignorance and brutality which the high contempt of so glorious a Gospel, as these Nations, and especially this City of London hath

so long enjoyed, deserves: then what may not easily be done with, or to such a people? what *vassallage*, or *bondage* spiritual or temporal will they not submit unto? *Ab poor England! ab thou City of London!* what woes and calamities even of thine own procuring art thou already fallen into? and how *inevitably* must thou undergo them? Thou *triumphedst* in the undoubted expectation of assured peace, greatest plenty, most prosperous and mighty trade; but how art thou already tossed with cares and fears? threatened with scarcity and want? impoverished with the losse of trading? thou *boastedst* of freedom from taxes and other publick burdens; but what two years didst thou ever find so costly before, and so heavy to thee? besides thy other constant Assessments and payments; what thinkest thou of the *Pole-money*, the *benevolence*, the *chimney-money*, the *Protections* to thy debtors, the *monopolies* that have come upon thee thick and three-fold? Thou didst reckon to be the *glory* of Nations, the *crowning City*, to shine as bright in thy *stones of fire* as ever *proud Babylon* did, *Esa. 22. 8. Ezek. 28. 14.* but how greatly art thou disappointed? what plagues and judgements rather mayest thou not look for suddenly to overtake thee? for our parts we are now *dying men*, but if we were sure to live, yet the very apprehensions of these things makes us *even dye already*. Well, what remedy remains? surely none but that which in a manner we see too much cause even to *despair* of, and that is such a *speedy, hearty and thorough Repentance*; such a *general Reformation*, such a *closing and firm uniting* of all parties, as our deplorable condition requires, and the *Covenant* we have bin speaking of, binds us all to

Obj. *Since* we know there are against this *Covenant*, and such too as seem to have *strength and weight* in them, but when Examined by impartial Judges, will be found otherwise.

Some object against the Matter of the *Covenant*; but to the intelligent and considerative Reader, do not the very words of it, and that in the *literal and grammatical* construction, most plainly declares that the *great scope and aim* of it is, the *preservation and Reformation* of the true Protestant Religion, both *Personal and National*? and that the *preservation of other Interests* is secured by it, in no other sense, and upon no other terms but in order unto that; or *at least* wise no further then will or can consist with that? hath not the whole frame and connexion of it, a most apparent dependance upon, and reference

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to the Religion aforesaid? and if things be duly *examine* and the Reader will but take pains to *search* into the following Scriptures, shall he not there find that the *Covenanted Reformati- ons* of Hezekiah in 2 Chron. chap. 29 and 30. and of Josiah in the same, 2 Chron. chapters 34 and 35. and of Ezra, chap. 9 and 10. and of Nehemiah chap. 9. and 10, were not more *bo'ly* nor *Solemn* in the matter of them, then *this* our very Solemn League and Covenant.

And whereas it is farther said, that it was *unlawfully imposed*, and by an unlawful Power, *unjustly forced*, and therefore *not obliging*. We Answer to this also, when it was first taken men did not *say so*, nor did the Generality or Body of the three Nations *think so* (whatever some particular and otherwise interested persons might,) and we say further too, that all the force used (that we know of, or can remember) were only arguments and convictive discourses either from Prints or Pulpits. This means indeed was used, strongly urged, and pressed upon peoples consciences, and by *those very men* too chiefly, that while it was *burned to ashes*, were altogether *silent* in the defence of it, a *sin* which we pray God to give them *Repentance* and *Pardon* for.

But if this Objection had *any weight* in it (as indeed it hath not) so long as the *matter* of the Covenant is *good*, and the great God is now attested by them that took it, and thereby *indispensably obliged* to God by it, do not some of the Bishops themselves, Dr. Sanderson by name, hold it *binding*, notwithstanding the pretended force of it?

But what need we trouble our selves with Arguments for this from the *concession* of mens? since God himself *pleads* this very cause so *irrefragably* as he doth, both in the case of the Gibeonites whose Covenant though gotten by *fraud*, as is most apparent in the 9 of Joshua, yet the breach of it was *sharply revenged*, many years after in 2 Sam. 21. And of Zedekiah, whose Covenant was *forced upon him* against his will, even by an Heathen Prince, and yet because he *brake* it, see how God *breaks* him, in the 17. of Ezekiel. Let not men think to escape from an Omnipotent and an angry God. A God that *always* hath *aven- ged*, and *still will avenge* the quarrel of his Covenant, (Levit. 26. 25.) and is therefore called the Lord God of *Recompenses*, and the Lord God of *recompenses*, that will *surely requite*, (Jerem. 51. 56.) and himself gives the reason for it more then

once by the mouth of the same Prophet, saying that it is the vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his Temple, *Jerem.* 50. 28. & 51. 11.

Let our Sufferings therefore be what they *will* or *can* be, we are sure it is for doing no more, then what in our Places and Callings by this Covenant we were bound to do, and that upon the utmost hazzard of our inward peace here, and eternal happiness hereafter.

We are charged indeed with *Disloyalty* to our late Prince, but as matters stood with us, being *this* engaged, how could we have been *Loyal* to the King of Kings if we had not endeavoured at least to perform our vows to him? If we were brought into this dilemma or double straight, that we must necessarily come under the censure of *Disloyalty* either to God or the King, we say with the Apostles in *Acts* 4. 19. *whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more then unto God, Judge ye.*

Some may think and perhaps may be ready enough to say it too, that we dye like *Fooles*, and have no sufficient warrant for our Sufferings: But for our parts we are of another mind, and hope shall be enabled to assert and seal it to the last drop of our blood. And though for a time in the present heat of things, men may insult over our mangled bodies, as if by killing us they had got the victory, and may triumph at the sight of our exalted Quarters, yet when the eyes of people are throughly opened, and they have been long enough wearied with the Mileries and Oppressions of all sorts, which they have been so eagerly fond of, and for want of due fore-sight have so hastily and violently precipitated themselves into, they will have other thoughts: and such of us as now passe for *Murtherers* (and the vilest and most execrable that are too) may perhaps be accounted worthy of the esteem of *Martyres*; for what hath brought us to this we are now come to? Is it not the same Cause (upon the whole matter) which all the three Nations owned? and which some of us pleaded in Parliament, and others of us fought for in the Field? was it not for opposing and doing what we were able to remove and prevent for the future those very mischiefs as well in Civils as Ecclesiasticks, which while we were in power, could not break in upon us, but now are returned more fiercely then ever, even like a mighty Torrent that bears all before it?

Let all true English-men lay their hands upon their hearts, let them remember and compare without passion and prejudice
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the last twenty years Injoyments with *present times and things*. Though we had *Armies* then, and *Taxes* upon the people; yea though we deny not, but there were some *Unusuall Atings* and *Irregular Proceedings*, arising inavoidably from the necessity and exigence of Affairs, (not from the *choise* or *desires* of those that were Actors in them.) Yet how *great* and *invaluab*le were the *Priviledges* and *Liberties* which the people then *enjoyed*? Were their *Charters* and *Enfranchisements* endangered as now they are? Was their *Trading* ever so *low*, even in the worst of those times, as at *this present*? Was their *Pretious* and *Glorious Gospel* extinguished, or so much *Eclipsed* at least, in the light of it? Did poverty every where march so fast upon them even in *that time* of War, as now it doth in our dayes of peace, *like an armed man*? Did we not flourish at *Home* (at least comparatively) and were we not a terrour to enemies *abroad*? Though there was not so due a care as should or might have been for the preventing of *Divisions*, and uniting all *just* and *good* interests together (a sin that is to be lamented, and will be lamented) yet was there ever such a *Flood-gate* opened to all impiety as now there is? What *prophanations* of the *Sabbaths* are now found among us? What *vain* and *superstitious* *Worships*? What dreadful *Apostacy*? What *Teaching* for *Doctrins*, the *precepts* and *inventions* of men, directly contrary to Christ and the *Apostles*, *Mat. 15. 9. Colloss. 2. 20. to 23.* What *lewd* and *lawlesse-lives* among all sorts of men and women? What *Chamberings* and *Wantonnesse*? What *Riot* and *excesse*? What *Drinking* and *Whoring*? What *Swearing* and *Swaggering*? What *Gaming* and *Reveling*? What *Cursing* and *Damning*? What *Roaring* and *Ranting*? What *uncontrolable* wickedness rageth every where through the Land? Even as if the men of these times had been delivered on purpose to do all these abominations, *Jerem. 7. 10.* may not *ruful England* as much now as ever, sit down in *tears*, and even weep her eyes out for grief, *Dr. Gauden* himself being Judge?

It is true indeed, there are many that cry up the *blessednesse* of these times, and the happy *changes* we are now under; that do in a manner conclude, that it is *impossible* any thing can be now done, which may admit of *amendment*: that nothing ought now to be accounted *grievous* or *oppressive*; no, not though *Princes* themselves become companions of *thieves*, (*Esay 1. 23.*) though open *Robberies*, *Assaults* and *Murthers* be done by them upon

the very high wayes. The Poor Commons of England, travelling about their lawful occasions, may be now slain, and their innocent blood bought and sold, if they be great men, or great mens Sons that do it. They may Kill and Murther and do what they please, and yet shall find a deliverance. Oh! how are witnesses even in the case of blood now tampered with, silenced, or over-awed by Bribes or Threats? What Corrupt and Unrighteous Juryes have we? How is Judgement turned into wormwood? Murther into man-slaughter, and man-slaughter into murther, as the case lyes for, or against a Phana-tique (as they call him) or a poor Commner? But may not such as bring the price or guilt of innocent blood upon their own Families (as well as pollure the Nation with it) chance to have the innocent blood of themselves or some of theirs be enquired after by the next Jury, whilst thus they encourage the hands of murtherers against their Brethren?

As for those that blesse themselves with such times times as these, what are they (for the most part at least) but men of most filthy and dissolute lives? such as were described before? Haters of God and godlinesse? such as cannot indure holinesse of Life, or soundnesse of Doctrine, but are even mad against a convincing Ministry in the Nation, and the pious Examples of such neighbours as walk most close with God, least their own wickednesse should be reprov'd or shamed? and what ever their pretended devotion may be, yet are they not such generally, as care no more for one Religion then for another any further then it suits with the full swing and dominion of their lusts? and is it not for this very reason, that they contend so much for present things, even with a zeal as hot as bell?

For our parts we account it no priviledge to live, to behold what is already come in part upon us, and is farther coming upon these Nations, &c therefore are the lesse solicitous about our death; And however at present we may be judged to suffer as malefactors, yet who can tell but that our blood may prove as fattening and fructifying towards the Common Cause, as the blood of the Martyrs did in the Church? and then it will be no solifcisme to say, *Sanguis Martyrum semen est, ut Ecclesia, sic & Reipublica.*

Some

Some Occasional Passages, Discourses and Letters of Col. John Barksteads as they were taken from his own mouth, or left behind him in writing under his own hand.

After Liberty was granted to some of his Relations and Friends to visit him in his imprisonment, very many of them did at several times repair to him; Those who first came to him were so affected with those choice Expressions which dropt from him, that like the Woman of *Samaria*, they made it their work to invite and encourage others to partake of the same Mercy with themselves: upon which many had the opportunity to hear him speak, and amongst them several sober and discreet Persons did commit to writing the things that were most remarkable which fell from him. And here we begin with what he spake to several Friends who came to visit him during the time of his imprisonment.

Having been, saith he, but a very little while off of my Watch, in that time giving way to a Parley with Flesh and Bloud, Sathan who is never idle was not now wanting, but put me for some hours to it, endeavouring to present to me the greatnesse of the Sufferings I was yet to go through, and my own weaknesse to go thorow them, I saw indeed my own weaknesse and inability, and taking the Bible to look for a word from whence I might get strength and encouragement, the Lord brought to me that place of *Isaiah* 26. 3, 4. *Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee, because he trusteth in thee: And so v. 4. Trust ye in the Lord for ever, for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength. And so v. 8. Yea in the way of thy Judgement O Lord have we waited for thee, the desires of our souls is to thy Name, and to the Remembrance of thee.*

The Lord helped him by this word to conquer all his fears, which did arise from the sense of his own weaknesse and utter insufficiency to conflict with those difficulties and deaths which did now encounter him, neither was the Lord wanting in renewing his strength from other portions of his good Word, which upon the opening of his Bible his eye by Providence was still directed to, whereof hear him give his following account.

When

When I was (sayes he) locked up in my lodging in the Tower alone, I began to consider what my present condition called for from me, and taking my Bible (my joy) I first pitched on this Scripture, *Psalm 4. vers. 4. Stand in awe and sin not, commune with your own hearts upon your beds, and be still;* and *vers. 5. Offer the Sacrifice of Righteousnesse, and put your trust in the Lord.* After some hours spent in Reading and Meditating upon these words, and finding not one syllable in which there was not an overflowing fulness as to me. At this time of my Affliction, I was lead forth in my Spirit abundantly to add more the goodnesse of the Lord to me, that I should so providentially pitch upon this Scripture; And now my heart being filled with ravishing Joys and Rejoycings, I looked a little further, and reading *vers. 7. Thou hast put gladnesse in my Heart, more than in the time that their Corn, and their Wine encreased;* I found that Scripture abundantly made good to me, and can truly seal to this, that in all my full enjoyments of the Creature, I never had such Joy and Gladnesse in my heart as now, and that all the Afflictions, Cares and Torments I have met with are nothing to those sweet enjoyments that God hath given in through Christ; Nono, there is more affliction in the least sin, then in the greatest of Sufferings, and that I can truly say there hath not one private thought past through me that I was sorry or wish I had not been so far engaged in this Glorious Cause, but I have rather admired the great love of Christ to me, that he should make choice of such a poor Creature as I am to be employed in his Work. I must further say, that the Lord hath made crooked things straight, and rough wayes plain, and hard and difficult things easie to me, through the Free and Rich Love of Christ; Oh he hath made death nothing unto me now, but yet I have no strength of my own, no my strength lies in my weaknesse, and it is Christ alone that can renew my strength, which he doth daily, by setting upon my heart these following Scriptures, which have been a constant relief to me. *The Lord is my Light and Salvation, whom shall I fear? The Lord is the Rock of my life, of whom should I be afraid, Psalm. 28. 14. Wait on the Lord, be of good courage, and he shall strengthen thy Heart, wait I say on the Lord. Psalm. 33. 11. The Counsel of the Lord stands for ever, and the thoughts of his Heart to all Generations: Blessed be the Soul that hath the Lord for its inheritance, Psalm. 138. vers. 8. The Lord will perfect that which*

concerneth me: the Mercies of the Lord endureth for ever, forsake not the works of thine own hands, Prov. 16. vers. 9. A mans heart deviseth his way, but the Lord directeth his steps; in the day when I cryed thou answeredst me, and strengthenedst me with strength in my soul; commit thy wayes to the Lord, and thy thoughts shall be established, Prov. 28. vers. 28. When the wicked arise, men hide themselves, but when they perish, the Righteous increase. But now thus saith the Lord that created thee O Jacob, and he that formed thee O Israel, fear not, I am he that blotteth out thy Transgressions for my own sake, and will not remember thy sins, Elaiiah 63. vers. 9. In all their afflictions he was afflicted, and the Angel of his presence saved them in his love, and in his pity he redeemed them, and he bare them, and carried them all the dayes of old, Lam. 3. vers. 24. and 2. 5. 2. 6. 37. vers. 38. The Lord is my portion saith my soul, therefore will I hope in him; The Lord is good unto them that wait for him, to the souls that seeketh him, it is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the Salvation of the Lord. Who is he that saith it cometh to passe when the Lord commandeth it not, out of the mouth of the most High proceedeth not evil and good, Psal. 34. 9. Obfear the Lord ye his Saints, for there is no want to them that fear him, Psal. 11. 22. Though hand joyne in hand the wicked shall not be unpunished, but the seed of the Righteous shall be delivered.

Some Experimental Passages in Discourse with a Friend.

A Friend coming to him the week of his Tryal and Suffering, did partake of many choice breathings from him, some of them which he could call to mind are here faithfully collected.

We are to esteem Sufferings the better when they are in the Wayes of God, and we must not esteem the Wayes of God the worse because they are accompanied with Sufferings in this world.

A Believing Souls Sufferings for Christ do confirm him the more in the wayes of Christ.

A Principle of Faith finds three sorts of Promises in the Gospel.

First, *The Promise of Assistance.*

Secondly, *The Promise of Acceptance.*

Thirdly, *The Promise of Reward.*

Then

Then he proceeded in some further Spiritual Discourse.

Although I find I have no strength to encounter with those great Tryals I am to meet with, yet I will labour to quit my heart through the Spirit of Faith, from that Scripture, *Esa. 30. 7. Your strength is to sit still*, and indeed I find it so. Then one present did ask him, if he thought the Cause in which he had been engaged would ever arise again. He said, The Cause lies in the Bosom of Christ, and as sure as Christ arose, the Cause will arise again, and we die but to make way for it, for when *John the Baptist* came to prepare the way for Christ, he must be beheaded for it; so we by our death do but make way for the next coming of Jesus Christ personally to reign a thousand years with his Saints. And although we die, the Cause will certainly live.

The Thursday before his Suffering, he entertained some Friends who came to visit him, with very sweet and Heavenly Discourse, to this purpose.

That although God had given him a sight of his Eternal happines, yet Satan would have brought all his sins before him, yea the very sins of his youth as unpardoned, yea sayes he, I my self also would fain have set them before me, but God out of his free love through his Son, was stronger then them both, and would not suffer it, but gave me in a full assurance that all my sins were freely forgiven and blotted out, and never to be remembred against me any more, which caused such unspeakable Joyes that he was not able to utter, nor was he to the best observation of Friends then present, ever seen so chearful in the greatest of his prosperity.

At noon one desired him that he would eat, he answered him that he was above that kind of meat, for the Lord (saith he) hath fed me with the fat things of his own Spirit.

The night before he Suffered, he was exercised with some fears, lest he should want strength to go through the great work he was now suddenly to engage in, he took his Bible and opened it at an adventure, and God gave him in such a word that was so fital le for him at the time, that he rejoyced and said Blessed be his Name that never leaves me without a Word; the
Scrip-

Scripture which Providence then presented him with, was *Isa. 54. 10.* *For the mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed, but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither the Covenant of my Peace be removed from thee, saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee.* Oh sayes he to his Friends and Relations then with him, You are the Mountains and the Hills that must depart from me now; and so took his leave of them all with much chearfulness, saying, Go seek the Lord for me, for I cannot go one hairs breadth in my own strength.

At another time he thus spake to some near Friends and Relations who were with him; Certainly (saith he) if I had known the comforts of this *sweet communion with God in a Prison* before, I had run to a Prison long ago. If I had suffered when my Brethren did suffer, I had had little or no blood in my body to have spile for Jesus Christ in this good Cause; but God carried me into *Germany*, and there made us to sow a good Seed, which will never dye; and now God hath brought me back again, with more strength to suffer for his Name and Cause: Indeed the Lord hath made me in some measure now fit to go through Sufferings for him, and it is indeed He alone who hath done it.

Upon hearing the news of his Tryal, which he knew was Death to him, taking and looking into his Bible, God was pleased to set home that Scripture with his own Spirit upon his soul, *2 Tim. 4. 6.* *For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand;* and sayes he, I can truly say in the strength of the Lord, I am now ready to offer up my body to the Lord, all things being very clear to me in my own Conscience.

He earnestly desired some Friends to seek to the Lord for him, that he might have a better heart than that which he had to burn; but, blessed be the Lord, saith he, I have in a good sense a heart and a heart, though still my strength is in my weakness.

He was wont frequently during the whole time of his Imprisonment, to utter very sweet expressions to this purpose; That the wayes of God are very pleasant wayes, and that his sufferings were as nothing, Prisons, Chains, Manacles, with Buffetings, &c. were not to be accounted sufferings; and that had he known before, what it had been to be in Bonds for Christ, and to have the Presence of God in such a condition, he would never have gone beyond Sea; and that he had enjoyed more of God in that Palace (for so he called his close Prison) than ever he did in his life before.

He often said likewise, especially the day before his Execution, to an

eminent Minister, *That it was his great burden at this time, that ever he lifted up a finger against any of the People of God that were heretofore of another Perswasion, different from his; and exhorted all his Friends that were present, to love the Image of Christ where-ever they see it.*

A Minister being with Col. *Barkstead* the day before he suffered, and having heard that whilst he was Lieutenant of the Tower, he had been somewhat severe and harsh to certain godly persons (called *Fifth-Monarchy-men*) then in his custody; asked him this Question,

Sir, Had not you some good men in your custody once when you were in power? (and intended further to have said) and were you not then somewhat harsh and severe to them? But Col. *Barkstead* anticipating his meaning, prevented him with this affectionate Reply; Oh Sir! *that very thing hath cost me many a tear, when I was some hundreds of miles from this place, and before I came into this condition; indeed they held forth an opinion concerning the Fifth Monarchy or Kingdom of Christ upon Earth, which I was then much prejudiced against, and so prejudiced, that I was not willing to hear or reade any thing in favour of it: but now I am so far perswaded of the truth of it, that I could freely lay down my life for it.* Oh Sir (saith he) *many hours would not suffice to tell you all my Experience, as touching this particular; it was since I came into Prison that the Lord hath led me into the light and knowledge of this Truth; and when I many times opened my Bible, such places of Scripture presented themselves to me as preached this Doctrine, which I several times out of prejudice waved, and would not look into; but notwithstanding, the Lord did so overcome my heart, to the faith and love of this Truth and Doctrine of Christ's visible Kingdom here on Earth, or the Fifth Monarchy, that now I could, as I said before, freely lay down my life for it; and I hope the Lord will help me to speak something to this particular to morrow; but if through weakness I should not then speak so fully to it, I have left a Testimony behind me to that glorious Truth.*

When he saw his Friends at any time sad about him, he would often say to them, *Be sad for nothing but Sin, fear nothing but Sin; There is more evil in the least Sin, than in the greatest Sufferings: this was (as he said) his own experience.*

The Sheriff's man bringing him word of his Execution, and telling him he was sorry to bring him the ill news; he smiled, and very chearfully returned him this answer, *Blessed be the Lord, I am ready, and therefore it is no ill news to me.*

After

After which time, until Execution, he behaved himself with much Joy and Chearfulness, so that many that came to see him with tears in their eyes, went away rejoicing for that of God they saw in him.

At another time, to a Friend speaking to him of the greatness of his Afflictions, he returned this Answer : *My greatest Affliction* (sayes he) *hath been my Opposition to those of the People of God who were contrary-minded to me.* And said further, that he was much comforted and helped by the Prayers of the Saints, yea, of those Saints, (said he) which considering my dealings with them, had more cause to curse me, than to bless me : when I heard that such prayed for me, I believed they would prevail, and that God would answer his own Spirit in his People for me. He also desired a Friend to use his interest to reconcile him to those Saints whom he had offended and dealt hardly with, viz. those who are in a proper Scripture-sense for the *Kingdom of Jesus Christ* ; a Truth which he confessed he so much opposed, together with the Professors of it : which Opposition (saith he) I have often felt *in my very bones*, in regard of the sorrow it cost me : But now (sayes he) I rejoyce that the Lord hath enlightened me in it, though much without humane means, only by the Bible, in the time of my Sufferings.

The day before his Execution, he dined and supped with his Friends as heartily and chearfully as ever they saw him, and slept as well that night as he had done these many years ; being still much refreshed and kept up with that Scripture, *He that believes in me shall never dye.*

In the morning he arose early, and the Gentleman-Jaylor bringing him word that the Sheriff was come, desired him to be ready. He answered, *Blessed be the Lord, I am ready* : but he staying a little longer than was expected, he was as one in haste to be gone, and often looked out at the windows, still wishing for the coming of his Chariot (for so he called the Sled) and when the Jaylor came for him, he went with that readiness and chearfulness as was to admiration.

These following Scriptures he left written upon the walls of his Prison-Chamber in the Tower, viz. *Exod. 32. 14. And the Lord repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his People.* *Numb. 14. 19, 20. Pardon I beseech thee the Iniquity of this people, according unto the greatness of thy Mercy, and as thou hast forgiven this people, from Egypt, even until now.* *And the Lord said, I have pardoned according to thy word.* *Psal. 73. 25, 26, 27, 28. Whom have I in Heaven but thee ? and there is none upon Earth that I desire be-*

sides thee. *My flesh and my heart faileth, but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever. For lo, they that are far from Thee shall perish; Thou hast destroyed all them that go a whoring from Thee. But it is good for me to draw near to God, I have put my trust in the Lord God, that I may declare all thy works.* Isa. 43. 2. *When thou passest thorow the Waters, I will be with thee; and thorow the Rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest thorow the Fire, thou shalt not be burnt, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.* Jer. 49. 11, 12, 13. *Leave thy fatherless Children, I will preserve them alive; and let thy widows trust in me. For thus saith the Lord, Behold, they whose Judgment was not to drink of the Cup, have assuredly drunken, and art thou he that shalt altogether go unpunished? thou shalt not go unpunished, but thou shalt surely drink of it. For I have sworn by my Self saith the Lord, that Bozrah shall become a desolation, a reproach, a waste, and a curse, and all the Cities thereof shall be perpetually wastes. I have heard a rumour from the Lord, and an Ambassador is sent unto the Heathen, saying, Gather ye together, and come against her, and rise up to the battel.*

Other Passages and occasional Speeches of Col. John Barkstead, taken by another hand, as followeth.

AT the first entrance of a Friend into his Lodging, the respect and affection he had for him, forced him to shed a tear, at which he was much displeased, and said, that he would have none of his Friends weep for him, but those that envied his happiness, those that were unwilling he should go to Heaven; And having had some other discourse with his Friend as he lay on his Bed. he gave a brief account of Gods dealings with him in the Prison (otherwise called and esteemed by him as his Palace) which is as followeth At my first entrance into this place, I was deprived of all company, being lockt up close Prisoner, none being suffered to come to me, only my Keeper, and he not very often; but blessed be God, the Sun of Righteousness still did shine upon me, though deprived of other earthly enjoyments. Now finding my self in this *deserted condition* (for so I looked upon it with an eye of sence) I began to consider with my self of my estate, what a *miserable man* I should be were my hopes and confidence only in this life, did they depend *solely* on such momentary things, as Friends, Relations, Liberty, &c. of which in so short a time I am so much deprived; but having a confidence built upon that God that I had so long trusted in,

I resolved to apply my self to Him, which accordingly I did by Prayer; and having waited long at the Posts of Wilsdoms Gate (for who would not have done it, having a key that would certainly open it, I mean that gracious Promise of an Almighty God, *That those that seek his face in sincerity, shall not seek in vain*) the Lord was pleased evidently to appear to my poor soul, and told me, that being here in Prison, destitute of all earthly enjoyments, and having nothing in this world to trust to, I should find him instead of all to me: I continued to make my Application to him; but he was pleased afterwards for a little space to hide his face from me; but, blessed be his Name, his Spirit did not depart, but encouraged me with *Jacob*, not to let him go till he had blessed me, and after a while I beheld the light of his countenance again. Now, who would not trust in such a God as he is, in regard such a poor creature as I am could no sooner ask, but prevail. And from that time to this, the sweetness of that Communion that I have had with my gracious God, is not to be expressed; *Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither can it enter into the heart of man to conceive of those things that are laid up for those that love Him.*—

Several Friends coming in to see him, he was for a while interrupted in speaking, but when they departed, he proceeded with this ensuing discourse. Several, sayes he, came to perswade me to repentance for that horrid sin of *murdering my late Sovereign* (so termed by them.) For their good counsel I returned them hearty thanks, and told them that I had with tears laid all my sins open to God, and blessed be his Name, he had done the like to my conscience, for the pardon of which, through the Blood of Christ I had a full assurance; and I told them, that among all the catalogue of my sins, I could never find *that* (so termed by them) to be a sin.

The day before he dyed, there came a Letter from one that pretended to be his Friend, (though to him unknown) the substance of which was, That provided he would give a very inconsiderable sum of Money, he did not question the purchasing of his Life. Having read the Letter, he turning about to his Wife, with a smiling countenance, told her, that there was another snare, shewing her the Letter (having had several others before) and turning to the Messenger that brought the Letter, did desire him to return his Friend many thanks for his kindness, and to acquaint him that he was a very poor man, and as for Money he had none, but withal told him, that he so little esteemed temporal life, that if he had but a Farthing he would not give it to purchase it.

Another

Another Letter came to his hands the morning he went to dye, and advised him, that if he would make his Address to the King by way of Petition, he might have his Liberty, Provided he would fight under the Portugal, against the Spaniard. He returned this Answer, without the least pause, and with a smiling countenance, *That he was now going to fight under the Banner of King J E S U S, and therefore such Temptations as these were very unsuitable to his Spirit.*

Several being present at Dinner-time on the day before he dyed, and refusing to eat with him, he eating so heartily: He told them he admired they could stand by and see a dying-man eat so heartily, and they not eat at all.

At night at his going to Supper, his Wife desired him to wash his hands, it being the last time he should eat with his Friends: but he refused it, telling her that to morrow they would be put upon the City Gates on spikes, and then the rain would save him that labour: He likewise desired one of his Relations to air his last Shirt, which accordingly she did: all which he spake with a chearful smiling countenance.

Saturday, being the day of his Execution, his Friends came early in the morning to see him, and having been there about a quarter of an hour, he asked his Keeper how he had slept that night? who answered, Very well. He likewise asked his Keeper, whether he did not laugh about three of the clock in the morning? supposing it to have been only a Dream: but the Keeper made answer, That about the fore-mentioned time he made a very great laughter; the Keeper admiring at the occasion of it, said, Do you laugh, Sir, and are to dye to day? who answered, To dye! *I die to live*, quoting that Scripture, *He that believes in me shall never die*: The reason of his laughter being, as himself said, because he was exceedingly transported with joy in the evidence of Christ's love to his soul. And indeed nothing but Joy was daily seated in this dying-man's countenance, as did evidently appear to all the Spectators.

The morning being far spent in discoursing with his Friends, the Sleds about eight of the clock came into the Tower, which making a great noise upon the stones, he ran to the window with a smiling countenance to view them, and said, *Oh our Chariots are now come!* A little while after the Sleds came, the Gentleman-Porter, or some other Officer in the Tower, came to acquaint him with it, desiring him to prepare for his Departure: to which he rejoicingly answered, That blessed be God, it was not then to do; and so with much chearfulness he committed

mitted his Wife into the hands of the Lord God Almighty, resting upon his Promise, *That he will be a Father to the Fatherless, and a Husband to the Widow.* A little before his Departure, he desired his Wife to button on his Cloak, which accordingly she did, and presently the Gentleman-Jaylor and a File of Souldiers came by the Lieutenants Order and received him, at which time he parted with his Wife and Relations, as himself professed, with as much joy as ever he received them. Now being brought by the Jaylor to the Lieutenants Door, that being the place appoiated for the Sleds to receive them; and although it was the place and house in which he lived in plenty and honour, yet he had so much estranged himself unto it, that he did not so much as cast his eye upon it; and no wonder, if his treasure were in Heaven, that his heart was there also.

He was appointed the first that should enter the Sled, and so to be drawn the foremost of the *three* through the City. Having thus entered the Sled, he sat down, and looking about him with a chearful countenance, and speaking comfortable words to such Friends as were near him; after a while the Sleds were ordered to be drawn away, which accordingly was performed; and coming down the *Church-bill*, opposit to his Prison (*alias* his Palace) his Wife with some other Friends standing at the window, took her Handkercheif out of her Pocket and shook it at him, which he perceiving, took off his Hat and several times shaking it over his head, cryed out with an astonishing chearfulness, *To Heaven, to Heaven, to Heaven, my Love, and leave you in the Storm.* Thus passing along, he came to the Tower-Gate, where some reviled him in words and carriages, not only his Enemies, but his former intimate Friends, which he rather smiled than was troubled at.

Near *Holborn* there came a young woman to him, being very earnest to speak to him, which the Sheriffs Officers permitted; all that she told him she had to say to him was this, *That whatsoever he did, she begged of him to go on chearfully in so Glorious a Cause.* Several spake to him in the same manner. And though he met with some Revilers in the way, yet the number of his Friends, and of such as blessed him and the rest in the Name of the Lord, far exceeded them. As he passed along, several times a Friend that accompanied him asked him how he did? who told him, *he was never better in all his life, and that he grew stronger and stronger every moment.* And going up *Holborn*, being in discourse with the same Friend, he with a smiling countenance told him, *That he evidently saw Jesus Christ coming down the Hill to receive and imbrace him; and that this hours difficulty that he was now to go through, was not to be*

be mentioned with that Glory he was to enjoy. When he came near the place of Execution, the multitude of people increasing, they could not bring the Sled near the Gallows, so the Sheriff ordered that he should be brought on foot, which accordingly was performed, and a Cart standing ready under the Gallows, he cheerfully got into it; before which some of his Friends took their leaves of him, he leaving this word of Counsel with them, *To trust in that God that hath promised, Never to leave nor forsake those that trust in him.*

Being entred the Cart, the Executioner tyed his hands with black Ribbons, taking off his Perriwig, and putting on his Cap, the Sheriff told him, that he would permit him to say any thing between God and himself, but nothing in justification of the Act: but he refused to say any thing till Col. Okey came, which was immediately after.

Several reviled him at the place of Execution, among the rest the Lord — bidding him (in a scoffing way) *Good buoy Barkstead, good buoy.* To which, with a smile, he returned this Answer, *Sir, you are no Gentleman to triumph over a dying-man.*

Another thing observable was, That a Courtier by way of derision told him, *O Barkstead, you have got the Comforter*, meaning a little Strongwater-bottle that he had in his hand: to which he replied, *That blessed be God, he had a better Comforter than that, or else he should not be able to stand there so cheerfully as he did.*

To conclude, all his carriages and actions were exceeding cheerful, going through those Difficulties he met with, with an *undaunted resolution*, to the admiration and astonishment of his Enemies, and the great rejoycing of his Friends, who had before earnestly besought the Lord to vouchsafe his comforting and assisting presence to him.

A Letter of Col. *Barksteads*, sent when he was beyond the Seas to a near Friend of his in *London*.

My dear Friend,

YOURS of the last of April I received the twelfth of June. The first sight of your hand-writing filled my eyes with such floods of tears, that for some hours I could not recover my sight to read it: yet at last to reading I went, but then every line, yea every word called back my tears, and so overwhelmed my affections, that I could not get thorow it till between one and two of the clock that night, though the refreshing Comforts I found therein, and received thereby, I trust will never get thorow my heart, but have ever a place there while I have a being

A Letter of Col. Barkleeds, &c.

a being in this aying vain and miserable world, to which I desire we may get our hearts mortified and dead, and alive onely to our God in and throug our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Now if we be mortified and dead to the World then nothing in this World can trouble us; were all the Mountains in the World thrown on a dead man they would not trouble him because he feels none of their weight. Christi's bones were not broken on the Crosse because he was dead before, but the bones of the two Thieves were. So let afflictions and Troubles find us with mortified and dead hearts to the World, and they will never break our bones. No, no, the bones of those were broken which were alive. Our desires will be hankring after the World, but surely our businesse is to labour after Poverty of Spirit, and as the Lord hath by his Wise and Over-ruling Providence emptied us of the Creature, and so of those empty comforts, we may labour to get our hearts filled with the fulnesse of him, in whose fulness there is joy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for ever more, one drop of whose fulness is worth ten thousand Worlds. Ah, alas, alas, content, doth not alwayes go cloathed in silk, neither is it the company of rich men and women. No, no, they, and they alone are the contented rich men and women in this World whose desires are satisfied, I mean whose desires are satisfied in God, or whose desires God satisfieth, such a poor Soul looks on its present condition best because God sees it best. I cannot here but cast a weeping eye and a bleeding heart back on those our many dayes and years of mercy, the Lord was pleased to entrust me with both in relation to my Soul, and Body, but I did not honour the God of my mercies. He gave me health but I abused it, and therefore the Lord brought and continued sickness. I neglected those precious Ordinances I did or might have enjoyed, & behold the Lord hath cast me into a Wildernesse, where no water, no bread is; I neglected the communion of the Saints, and have been I had almost said shut out from the society of men, but more of that when I see you; I neglected the society of the living, and have been and am shut up as among the dead; under these and many other considerations of the like nature hath the Lord been at work with my poor Soul in this my Wildernesse condition, the particulars of which would be too large a volume for a letter, under all which, he who is, who was, who is to come, who is the chosen, faithful and true, he even he hath said, I will never, never, never leave thee nor forsake thee, and he that hath said it is faithful and will not lye, he cannot lye. Now if I can truly say the Lord is mine, and I am his, what care I if all the World forsake me? If the Lord takes away the World, and the things of the World, and friends of the World, and gives me himself I have enough. It was an excellent note in yours to me, God loves to the end and there is no end of that love, the World and the men of the World cannot do so. No, no, they are a lye, they

A Letter of Col. Barksteads, &c.

are empty dying vanities, they are not while they seem to be, nor what they seem to be. Man, a bubble, a vapour, a shadow, all nothing; then for riches they are as uncertain; riches take to themselves wings and fly away. Now if man & riches be thus uncertain nothings, what must their dependents be but less then nothing? as honour, pleasure, great things, yea great men, all a shadow that makes no stay put passes away, and immediately they are not. O is it not then below a rational Creature to lay out himself, his precious time, his strength, his all upon such pittiful poor nothings? but for a Christian, a child of God, an heir of Heaven to engage his Soul in such pittiful underling vanities, O let it not be; Hath the Lord broken our estate, let us beg of him to break our hearts too, for a broken estate, and a whole and a hard heart will never agree together, and there can be no content; But on the contrary, a broken estate, and a broken heart doth very often bring much more content then the full enjoyment of the Creature. I beseech the Lord I can borrow mercy seal to this truth in the Wilderness; Ah my Friend, my Friend, a naked dying Christ is above and beyond all the honour, profits, and pleasures of this World. An evennesse and Proportion between our hearts and our conditions brings content, hath God made our estates low, let not us lift up our head above our condition, for this will bring bitterness in the end; it is thorow the wise and over-ruling Providence of Almighty that our condition is for the present changed; now if we in our present condition desire to serve the Counsel of God in our condition, it will certainly exceedingly tend to our advantage. See what the Spirit of the Lord sayes the 54. of Isaiab. 17. When thou passest thorow the fire and thorow the water I will be with thee, (and so on.) Now if God be ours and we his, he will be with us; and then what will harm us, what will or can our losse be, or rather what will not our advantage be, that it is a gallant thriving time with the People of God with you, I much rejoyce and with you desire to bless the Lord, for that to me is an assured sign that the Lord is at work with them, and for them, and when he hath fitted his people for mercies, he will come, and will not tarry, where he gives a returning heart, he is not far from healing that heart, see the 2. Jer. 27. Return you back-sliding Children (the very next words) and I will heal your back-slidings; and where the Lord comes to heal see how ready the Soul is to close with the Lord. For the following words (we come) to whom (to thee) why so? For saith they, thou art the Lord our God our businesse is to get an assurance that the Lord is our God, and Salvation and deliverance is certainly near, or at least a suitable spirit to our present condition which is all one. My Friend, I doubt not before this you understand the reason of my not writing, I am not angry, I shall never have more to do with anger as formerly; No the Lord hath made me thorow mercy sensible of that evil, yea of my great evil and sin therein,

A Letter of Col. Barksteads, &c.

therein, and therefore I trust that I shall never be angry more, but with sin, which is and ought to be the onely object of our anger; No no, it is a meek and quiet Spirit that is most sutable for a Christian at all times, but especially at such a time as this, See Mat. 11. 19. Learn of me saith Christ, for I am meek and lowly. Meekness signifies humility or sweetness, it is the bridle of anger, it is the glory of a Christian, it graces his calling, it keeps the soul in a continual peace, it makes all other graces shine, it is a grace that a Christian hath constant use of, and so is of continual use in all places and on all occasions, but of exceeding use in this our day; for that to a humble heart all crosses are small, because it admires your least mercy looking on it self as unworthy of it, it is a convincing grace, a grace on which the Lord sets a very high price, it brings rest to the Soul, and so makes life comfortable, it keeps our heads and hearts lower then our condition and so frees the Soul from being destitute in the world, it is very suspicious of it self and so willing to know the worst of it self, it bemoans and afflicts it self and thinks better of others then of it self, the 3 Col. 12. As the Elect of God put on the bowels of meekness, loving-kindness and humility, this must be done as the elect of God. We read in Numbers, that the Nazarites as they were to drink no wine, so they were to drink no vinegar. Now a Nazarite was a Type of one set apart for God, such are all believers whom God hath set apart for himself, God expects they should drink no vinegar, that is they should not be of froward, peevish, waspish and sour spirits; But on the contrary, of sweet, meek and gentle spirits which is of great price both with God and man, and of great advantage to us both in relation to our souls & bodies. I have been the larger in this, having been here in speaking to my own soul, O had I had the acquaintance with this grace formerly which the Lord hath been teaching me in the Wilderness I should certainly have been more watchful of those floods of passions then I was, I should have known that nothing could be well done in anger or passion, I should have considered my own frailty, and laboured to have turned the stream of my affections another way, I should certainly have set a higher price on the grace of meekness then I did, and have made it more my business to have been humbling my soul for what had been past, & been mindful of renewing my Covenant daily, and thereby kept my peace with my God. I must beg your pardon for giving you the trouble of so many scribed lines, one of them to me excells all I can write, but the excellency of the grace of meekness together with the usefulness of it at all times, but more especially at such a time as this; Indeed when I set pen to paper, I intended another subject, but having had occasion to make tryal of the usefulness of this Transcendent grace, I could not pass it by, but was enforced to present you a taste of those full draughts the Lord hath been pouring forth into me even in the Wilderness.

A Letter of Col. Barkheads; &c.

of the Wilderness, this I shall unvild to you hereafter. But if this grace of meekness be of so transcendent excellency and usefulness, then how much doth it concern us to labour both to get and keep it; which that we may do, the first and principal means is certainly to study the word more, and therein of a more full knowledge of God and Christ and of our selves. Of our selves consider what once we were, what we might have been, and what it cost Christ to bring us out of that condition; and what we would be if God should leave us to our selves but for a very little space, in what condition should we then certainly be in one day. Let these and the like considerations cause us to rise and be doing, and to labour to get and keep our hearts in a ready frame and temper for every duty the Lord shall call us forth to, either to do or suffer, and not only so but to get our hearts in love with the duty; love makes hard and difficult things light and easy, and he let us not loose our former encouragements, nor continue in the guilt of any one sin, but be careful to preserve all our former Experience, to be very careful to order the duties of our present condition and conversation, to be ware of disturbing passions, and entertain all opportunities of enjoying communion with the Saints, let us be much in the exercise of faith, and alwayes labouring after strength of grace, indeavouring as much as in us lies to make all the wayes of Christ easie, that so they may be delightful to us. and when we have done all to leave the successe and issue to the Lord, all whose wayes are even and none of them crooked or contrary one to the other, they certainly bring strength and in all of them there is good successe, for that a gracious soul hath all the passages of Gods Providence to help him, they bring eases to the soul for that they ease the soul from care, yea they make all other things easy, in the wayes of Christ a gracious soul is alwayes receiving its wages in its work (Psalm 120.) Thy people are a willing people in the day of thy power; the heart of a Christian doth readily embrace Christ because there is something in a Christians heart like Christ, and from hence it is that the wayes of the Lord become strength to the righteous, it must needs be easie, yea even at that time when others may look upon them as most rough, difficult and hard; A skilful Sailor will make way to his desired port with a three quarter wind, yea if he have Sea-room he will lay bold on some Tack or other though the wind blow directly against him; The way from Egypt to Canaan was not long nor difficult; but behold through unbelief together with a murmuring and repining spirit, (The constant Hand-Maids) what windings and turnings did they meet with in the Wilderness before they came to Canaan; the same spirit is and will be at work in every one of us, and if the Lord give us not strength will exceedingly trouble us, & therefore we must take heed of vinegar spirits, and consider that a gracious heart accounts his duty his priviledge, and the reason is because the

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A Letter of Col. Barksteads, &c.

word that commands it is sweet, and therefore it is; he would rather come under any other burden then cast off the Yoke of Christ, for that this is to him easie; Now if we will follow Christ we must not think of following the World, for that is at continual enmity with Christ; yea those that follow the World are natural Enemies to themselves being at enmity with God; To follow the World is a slighting of Christ, by leaving the example of Christ and his Saints; It is also below the excellency of a Christian; for the Mysteries of Godliness are above the riches of the World, again it puts the soul upon a necessity of miscarrying to follow the World, crosses all our prayers, it hinders us from the receiving of good and deprives us of the good we had before.

But I must abruptly break off and take my
leave of you; I am Yours J. B.

Another Letter of Col. Barksteads written to a Christian
Friend in London.

MY Dear Friend, I am very sensible of my great neglect of that duty which is incumbent upon me, to you-ward in the Relation I stand to you, that I had not long before this given you an Account how it hath been with me, and what the Lord hath done for me his poor unworthy servant since I last saw you, that I have been a Stranger in a strange Land I need not tell you, I am perswaded you will judge favourably of me till you understand how it hath pleased the Lord to deal with me. The truth is, my condition in some respect may resemble the Dove that Noah sent out of the Ark that could find no place to set the heel of her foot on, thus hath it been for some moneths with me, so that I could not with any conveniency (because of those that bear an evil will to Zion) write to you; but my Dear Friend though I have been absent from you in the body, yet I can say truly I have not been so in my Spirit; the Lord knows how my Soul hath both night and day longed after you and all the rest of my Christian Friends in Christ Jesus, and in all my approaches to the Throne of Grace I have made it my earnest request to the Lord Jesus Christ that the Father of all glory would give unto you more and more the Spirit of Wisdom and Revelation in the knowledge of Christ; And that you may walk worthy of the Lord unto all well pleasing, being fruitful in all good works, increasing in the blessed knowledge of our God, and that you may be filled with all the love of God to his glory
and

Another Letter of Col. Barksteads, &c.

and your everlasting comfort. I know you are ignorant why I left my Native Country, and all that was near and dear unto me in this world, but which is most of all the precious Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communion of his people, a loss of losses, not to be made up but in Christ, and in him alone: and therefore my dear Friend, though now you enjoy the light, yet you do not know how soon it may be taken from you or you from it, it is and shall be my continual prayers that it may not be, for it is indeed the Judgement of all Judgements. The Lord God pardon unto me in the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ that great neglect of it whereof I was guilty while I was with you, that I did not improve it more to the comfort of my own soul. Oh my Dear Friend, did you but see and hear that which I have seen and heard in my Travels, especially among those that profess Popery, it would make your hearts to tremble, that blaspheming the Blessed Name of the Lord, all manner of wickedness, the horrid profanation of the Lords day, and other abominations; and Oh that I could have said that I had not seen and heard too much of the same, even among those that term themselves of the Reformed Religion. Alas, alas, the best of what they enjoy here, is but as the bran to the wheat in comparison to what the Lord hath bestowed on you, and therefore I beseech you prize the Gospel more and more, and those Godly Ministers that it hath pleased the Lord to send among you, for the Lord hath not done for other people as he hath done for you; I am verily persuaded it is one great cause among many others that the Lord hath dealt so severely with his own people, as to give them up into the hands of his and their enemies, hath been the slighting, despising, contemning and undervaluing the precious Gospel and the faithful Ministers of Jesus Christ; the Lord in great mercy pardon it not only to his own people but to the whole Nation, if it be his blessed will, that they may yet know the things that concerns the glory of God and their own everlasting life before they be hid from their eyes; Oh the precious Jewel of the Gospel to which all the other enjoyments even the quintessence of whatever this world can afford are not to be compared. What is there in this base world but vanity of vanities? what is there in great men or great things, a sparkle of fire, or a storm at Sea; or a treacherous Friend brings all to nothing in a moment? As we have seen by sad experience, every day do witness the Truth of it. Therefore saith the Apostle *love not the World, nor the things*

of

of the World, a little grace is worth ten thousand worlds; It was a notable saying of that worthy Marquess, that he was not worthy of Christ that would not give the whole World for one dayes Communion with him. Oh it is a good thing to have a heart established in grace, it is good in times of prosperity, it is good in dayes of adversity; Oh it is good in such a day as this, when one wave comes on the neck of another, yet the Lord even then remembers those, whom he hath promised he will never leave nor forsake, yea though their troubles be many, yet the Lord will deliver them out of all in his blessed time, for all things shall certainly work for the glory of God and the good of his own people. And now my Dear Friend, do I most humbly beg in the Name of the Lord Jesus the continuance of your Prayers to the Lord for me, that he would be pleased to give me more and more of his Holy Spirit, that while he is pleased to give a being in the Land of the living, I may in some measure live answerable to the many unexpected mercies he hath bestowed on me his poor and unworthy Servant, both in relation to my soul and body, and that too since I came into a strange land, and truly as I want a heart to be thankful to the Lord, so I want expressions to let you know it; I shall onely at present say it was good for me that I have been Afflicted, and if the Lord gives me life I shall not fail to let you know the goodness of the Lord to me in this day of my greatest of troubles which have not been a few. And as I humbly desire your Prayers for me, so do I also beg your thanks to the Lord for me, who hath been so gracious to me every way. And oh that now with a chearful heart I might honour the Lord in this day of very great troubles, and that I might be very humble and thankful, and be fitted to live or to dye as the Lord shall be pleased to call me forth. That which lyeth with some waite on my Spirit is not so much the losse of these outward things (for I praise the Lord he hath carried me in some measure above them) but that I should sin against so blessed a God and loving a Father as I have done, and that I should with many of his own People provoke the Lord to give up so many of his People so far into the hands of his and their enemies as he hath done at this day; would an ordinary chastisement have prevailed, certainly the common Enemy had not had their will over them; the good Lord sanctifie his present hand of affliction to all his more and more; and oh that now in this day of his East wind he would be
p' eased

Another Letter of Col. Barksteads, &c.

pleased for his Name sake to stay his rough wind, and that that may be the fruit to purge them from their sin, and that his People may yet live to praise him in the great Congregation, and there to declare the goodness of the Lord to them in the time of their affliction, and to say it was good for them they were afflicted.

And oh my dear Friend, I do again beg your prayers, for I am very sensible I am at present but as a brand pul'd out of the fire, and am very confident it is for the sakes of the Lords People that I am alive at this day; The Lord grant that while I live I may live to the glory of his most holy Name, I hope you will excuse me for being so tedious to you, I shall therefore no further trouble you, but only present my due respects to you, and all the rest of my Christian Friends, wishing you from my soul all good here, and glory hereafter in that World which is to come. And now the God of all praise that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ the great Shepherd of his Sheep, through the blood of the Everlasting Covenant, make you perfect in every good work, and work in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ.

I am your loving friend in the Gospel of our Lord Christ,

J. B.

Another Letter written by Col. Barkstead to a dear Friend.

I Ndeared and endearing Friend, Thine of the fourth instant came to my hands, which I blesse the Lord was as seasonable as welcom, and as welcom as seasonable; it was to me as Apples of Gold in P & ures of Silver, very Pleasant and Beautiful.

Dear Friend, I being now a close Prisoner in the Tower, in one of the (as they conceive) meanest and securest Prison lodgings, in which when it rains I have no place to sit dry but in a high window, being attended with a Life-guard of two Warders and two Souldiers day and night, and denied the use of Pen, Ink and Paper; so that what I write is so by stealth, and that so by bits, that I am forc't sometimes before I have writ two lines to tear what I have written, and with much trouble to secure my Paper, ink and pen; but yet I have adventured on a line or two to you, to let you know that I received your welcom Letter, every line of which was being filled with that spirit in & by which my soul hath been through free mercy born up by to
this very

A Letter of Col. Barkstead's to a dear Friend.

very moment, far beyond and above what I am here able to express ;
• Oh the infinite and Eternal Riches of the free Grace of our good God,
in and through the Lord Jesus Christ, to poor unworthy creatures ! it
is he, and he alone that hath and doth make hard things, easie, soft and
pleasant, bitter things sweet, crooked & rough ways plain and pleasant ;
this hath (through mercy) been his way towards me, unworthy man ;
since I became mans bond-man. He, even he alone, out of the free riches
of his never-failing Mercie in Jesus Christ, hath made me his free-man,
He hath set my feet in large and fresh pastures ; He hath not only taken
out the blots and blurs that my sins have made in my old Evidences,
since the old Record and Assurance I had many years of his Eternal
and Everlasting Love to my poor soul in Jesus Christ, but he even since
I came within this my Palace (for so I can truly and cheartfully call it)
I say, through the free Grace He hath not onely cleared up my old
Assurance, but hath also given me fair new Copies, together with such
Inlargements, that are unutterable. In the Deeps I cryed, when and
where none could hear but He, and He alone, who heard and answered,
blessed be his Name : When my heart and my strength failed, He then
heard, so that as a return of prayer, yea, of yours and the People of the
Lord, together with the breathing of his owne Spirit in the hearts of his
People here, He hath made such gracious and full returns, that I
(through mercy) can say from the first of my being in bonds, notwith-
standing the weakness of my body, and present want of health through
extream Colds, yet the Dungeon, Chains, Bolts and Manacles have
not had the least of hardness in them ; no, I must say again, through
free Grace, the Lord hath not only made them easie, but pleasant, yea
kickings and buffetings, when in Irons, by some of *Downing's* men, yet
the Lord strengthened me. Pray mistake me not, I do not write this,
as having here any thing to boast of from my self, or from any strength
of mine ; no, no, I have not been without my buffetings, though in
them the Lord hath been wonderful gracious to me, and he hath made
me a very great gainer by them. Three times since I came into this
Room or Palace, Satan, who may be truly said to go about like a roar-
ing Lion seeking whom he may devour, waiting his opportunity, I ha-
ving been for a very very little space drawn off my Out-Sentinels, and
beginning to hold a Parly with Sence, and reason with flesh and blood, to
look backward and forward, on the right and left hand, in which work
I do not remember I exceeded above half an hour, but I perceived
a general discomposure and unsettlement in all my former settlements,
and immediately found Satan with a full Body ready to surprize my
Main.

A Letter of Col. Barkstead's to a dear Friend.

Main-guards; but the Lord was merciful, and made good his Promise to me, He in the instant of time came in and shewed me where my weakness lay, and where my strength; I cryed out to Him, as a ravished Damosel, He heard and strengthened me with strength in my soul; blessed, O blessed be for ever his most great and glorious Name.

My dear Friend, I hint these things only to let you know how reasonable (through mercy) the Lord hath made me, and doth keep me off my own weakness, and nothingness, and unworthiness; indeed I dare not be off the Watch; or from going the Rounds, to see if all the Sentinels be watchful every moment; I do now very well understand that Command, *Pray alwayes, Pray continually*; watch and pray, pray and watch, are and must be a Christians constant, and continual, and unseparable Companions, at all times, and in all places.

Now that the Lord hath thus far answered the prayers of his People, what I shall be able to undergo the next hour I know not, I therefore do heartily again and again beg, that you would with me continually be blessing and praising the Lord for those blessed Returns he hath hitherto made to your former Prayers, and lay them before you as encouragements, and spread them before the Lord as Arguments for his hearing your Prayers, for the future, for what is yet to come; for, though I can say, the Dungeon, Bolts, Chains and Manacles, with kickings and buffetings, have been nothing, and therefore can comfortably and confidently desire the People of the Lord not to fear any of them, but to fear sin only, for that the least sin hath more terror in it than the greatest evil or trouble that can befall a Child of God here; therefore fear, O fear sin, I say: I do not know what a Sled, a Gibbet, a Halter, Ax, or Knife are, I have often set them before me, and have been often going up the Ladder to see if they would terrifie me, but blessed be the Lord they have not hitherto given me the least disturbance; no, no, in all that is past I could never yet suffer so much as such a wish to pass through my thoughts, Oh that I had not been engaged in this thing, or that I had before 1648 deserted this Cause; no, the Lord would not to this day suffer such a thought to pass through my thoughts, much less through my heart; no, I have over and over gone through the Cause from first to last, even from the Blood of *Rochel* to *Irelands Massacres*, the Blood of *Scotland*, and the Blood of both the Wars in *England*.

My dear Friend, and reconciled Friends on the best account, I must at present leave you, earnestly begging the constant continuance of yours and the People of the Lord's Prayers, with and for me, that as he hath,

A Letter of Col. Barkstead's to a dear Friend.

so would continue to support and bear up the spirit of his unworthy Creature, and in those few dayes, or hours, he hath yet to remain on this side Eternity, he may neither do nor speak any thing, wherein or whereby he should in the least dishonour God, grieve the Spirit of Jesus Christ, or give the least trouble to any of the meanest of the Saints, or desert that *Glorious Cause*, that the Lord doth and will own, and will raise up at his appointed time, in despite of all the Devils in Hell, and all the Kings, Princes and Great-men of the Earth, whose flesh must become meat to the fowls of the Air, and their Carcasses dung to the Earth; for, *the Kingdoms of the Earth*, or of this world, *are to become the Kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever, and ever.*

This from your truly reconciled Friend,
J. B.

Praise and pray, pray and praise, and above all watch unto prayer;
pray alwayes, and watch continually.

Several occasional Passages, Speeches and Letters of Col. John Okey, during the time of his Imprisonment in the Tower, till the day of his Suffering.

ON Wednesday the 16th of *April* 1662. being the day that Col. *Barkstead*, Col. *Okey*, and Mr. *Corbet* had Sentence passed upon them at the *Kings-Bench Bar*, after which a Friend went to visit Col. *Okey*, and found him in a sweet and blessed frame of spirit and very chearful, not in the least under any discouragement, but acquainted the said Friend that they had been up at *Westminster*, and that Sentence was given against them; and declared he was not in the least disquieted at it, but thankfully owned the Providence of God in bringing them from the place where they were beyond Sea, to their present condition, wherein he professed himself to be much satisfied, and declared he had rather lay down his Life here, than to have been buried in another Nation; and expressed further, that for what he was charged withal, and condemned, he had not the least trouble upon his spirit. He also told this Friend, that he desired to bless God for the Prayers of the Lord's People, for he found the benefit and advantage of them in this time of his Tryal. And with much chearfulness of spirit afterwards he did bless the Lord for his Goodness to him, declaring he had got more benefit and advantage in the time of these his troubles, than in many
C 2 years

Some occasional Passages of Col. John Okey.

years before; and one day especially since his coming into the Tower, he said, he was reading some verses in the 16th chapter of *John*, and the Lord did so set home upon his spirit, ver. 26, 27. especially that word, [*The Father himself loveth you*] that he was so much refreshed in his soul, that for an hour together he was as it were ravished with the Joy of the Lord; the sight of which was much comfort to his dear Wife, and did much refresh and cheer her spirit.

And upon Friday, the day before his Suffering, several Friends went unto him about one of the clock, and were with him some hours; he several times spake to them, saying, *Well, Friends, I shall now get to Heaven before you, and shall go out of a sinful evil world, into that place where I shall sin no more, nor sorrow any more; I bless the Lord he is good to me in all his dispensations, and I could not have been without any of these afflictions.* Then he mentioned divers choice places of Scripture, as 2 Cor. 4. 8, 9, and the 17 verse, explaining the words to sweet advantage: *As for afflictions (said he) they are but slight and momentary, and that they work to glory, yea an exceeding, yea, a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory:* And much strengthening himself with the Promises of God, *Isa. 43. 1, 2.* upon which Scripture he did thus descant; *Though Jacob was but a worm, and so trodden upon by every one, yet the Lord would be with him, and so with all his Saints and People in their sufferings.* He insisted also upon that Scripture, *Heb. 13. 5, 6.* together with many others which were proper to his condition, and the Lord was pleased to make every one of them a strengthening cordial to him.

The next day, being the day of Execution, several Friends went again to Col. Okey by six of the clock in the morning, where they found him ready dressed, and with a sweet chearful spirit bid them welcome. They asked him how he did? he said, Never better in his life, and had found the benefit of prayers; and it had been a sweet night unto him, being sweetly refreshed, which also did much appear by his chearful and fresh countenance; for it was observed that he never looked better in all his days. He declared he had much quietness in his spirit, and said, As for the loss of his Estate it did not in the least trouble him. Then a Friend hinted to him, the parting with his Wife and Relations: he answered, she had been a very tender Wife to him, and had expressed her abundant love and tenderness in this his distress; but he was not in the least troubled at their parting, being assured the Lord would be better to her, than he could be; And also said, that though his Wife had lost much since she knew him, as to outwards, yet she had gained much,

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much, as to the better concernments (for so his Wife had declared unto him) which doubtless, well considered, will out-weigh all other losses. Some of these Friends spent some time in prayer with him, also the Colonel himself went to prayer, and the Lord appeared very much in carrying forth his Spirit to own his hand, and to see his goodness in all his dispensations, and to implore further assistance: and between the times of prayer, they had much sweet conference with him; in all which he manifested a very gracious and holy frame of Spirit, and often declared with great chearfulness, that he was ready to be offered up. He was heard often to ask, whether his Chariot was yet come or no? and some Friends told him, Well, now the time draws nigh; who answered, *I am ready, I am ready.* Then came the Order for his going to the Sled, upon which he went with all chearfulness, and so went forward with undaunted courage to meet Death in the face, like a Christian Souldier indeed; who, through the Lord's assistance, presently obtained more than a Conquest over all his Enemies.

As he was in the Sled, and drew near to the place of Execution, a Friend came to him and said, Sir, I have a great desire to know how it is with you, and how the Lord is pleased to manifest himself unto you in the condition you are now in.

The Colonel replied, Friend I thank you, I bless the Lord I have great cause to praise and magnifie his great and glorious Name, for his unspeakable goodness towards me, especially in this present dispensation; for I can truly say, and that by experience, *that the Goodness of the Lord endures for ever*; and praised be God for this present trial.

The same Friend further replied and said, I pray, Sir, are you not at all dejected in your spirits? are you not cast down in your mind? have you not hard thoughts of God for this his strange providence towards you? The Colonel replied, Friend, I shall endeavour to satisfie you as well as I can in this matter: and I let you know that I have not the least trouble upon my heart, nor the least burden upon my spirit upon the account of my Sufferings, neither have I any hard thoughts of God: but, on the contrary, can speak to the praise of his Grace, that his Goodness hath carried me forth above the fear of all these things. And (my Friend) let me tell you further, That I have had more experience of God, and more acquaintance with God, within these three or four dayes, than ever I had in all my life; and at this present I am so far from being dejected or cast down in my spirits, as that I am so much elevated and lifted up in my soul, that I am not able to tell you how it is with me.

And

A Letter from Col. John Okey, to be communicated

And when he was ready to rise out of the Sled, another Friend came to him, and asked him how he did? To whom he answered, *I bless the Lord, I am very well, and do no more value what I am now going about, than this straw* (taking up a piece of a straw in his hand) *I have* (sayes he) *made many a Charge in my time, but now I have but one Charge more to make, and then I shall be at rest.*

Here followeth two Letters of his, to two of his old faithful Friends, eminent persons in the City of *London*.

A Letter from Col. John Okey, directed to a Relation of his, to be by him communicated to some Christian Friends of his acquaintance about the City of London.

S I R,

HAVING a little time in this place, before I am removed to *Newgate* (where I am to go as I am informed) I thought good to give you some account how it is with me concerning my better part, I bless the Lord I never found so much spiritual joy some years before, as I have in Prison; it is according as the Apostle speaks, *2 Cor. 1. 3, 4, 5.* And therefore let the People of God not fear a Prison, or to suffer in the Cause of God. I shall give you a touch but of three things, *viz.*

1. How it is with me in my spiritual condition.
2. I shall speak something of the Cause, for which I suffer the loss of all things which are near and dear unto me in this evil world.
3. In the last place, What a Mercy it is when the Lord is pleased to call forth a creature to suffer for the Truths of our Lord Jesus Christ in such a day as this is. I believe you have heard these from some other of the Servants of the Lord, that have gone before, in whole dishes; but you are like to have them in a broken dish, and but a few scraps, in comparison to that great feast you have had before from them that are now with the Lord. Our Afflictions sanctified, are good Cordials to the soul; and therefore it is no marvel that *David* said, *It is good for me that I have been afflicted.* And, as one observeth and saith well, a Prison being the place where, wanting other Books, a man may there best study the Book of the knowledge of himself, being separated from all business, but praying and praising the Lord God in Christ by the Spirits assistance. And since I have, by the help of the Lord, looked in some measure into my heart, I could not have thought there had been so much ignorance and impatience, pride, inordinate affection to creature-comforts, revenge, diffidence of God, self-love, and iniquity

quity of all kinds in me, as I now find there is; and although the Lord in great mercy hath kept me, by his mighty power and restraining grace, from those Jayl-bird sins, as Swearing, Drunkenness, Lying, Unclean-ness, and hating of his People; yet I find a mass of corruption in me, and a multitude of transgressions, so that my sins are as the hairs of my head, which cannot be numbred for the multitude of them; and all this darkness and filthiness of spirit is only discovered by the light of Christ: By his lowliness in washing the Apostles feet, I see the height of pride in my own spirit, and want of condescension when I was in prosperity, and my unfruitfulness under the means of Grace, and little good I did when I had an opportunity thereunto: and therefore I adore and acknowledge the Justice of God, that he hath most righteously deprived me of my Liberty and Estate; truly, now I am thereby brought nearer to Christ, whereby I find (through Grace) that Christ is become *very precious to me, And more to be desired than Gold, yea, than fine Gold; and sweeter than the Honey, or the Honey-comb.* And this I can say (through Mercy) I do desire to love the good Word of the Lord *before my appointed food*; I have begged of the Lord that he would enable me more and more, that I may lay open before him all my sins known or unknown, and to loath my self for them, and that not only for the shame which sin bringeth, but rather because I should sin against so good a God, and loving Father in Christ Jesus, - as I have done; and especially for my actual known sins, committed against so much Love, Light, Promises and Covenants from a gracious God, that will not destroy me for all my abominations: blessed be his holy Name for ever, and for ever. I desire continually to go out of my self, and to rely on the Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, who only is the Fountain of Life, and in his Light we shall see light. Oh! what Mercy is it, that the Lord should be pleased out of his great Love and Compassion, to cast the mantle of his free Grace upon such a poor worm as I am, and that he had not left me to the wickedness of my own heart, as he hath left thousands that do live in pleasure and vanity, and so *are dead while they live.*

Now the good Lord grant, that as he hath done for me more than he hath done for many thousands, so I may love Him more than many thousands do, that I may yet live and die for the Glory of his holy Name, and that the few hours I have to live, I may wholly spend to the praise of God. I humbly desire to bless the Lord that hath made me willing to live or die, as may be most for his Glory, and the Good of his People: for I can say, *through Christ that strengthens me, I*

A Letter from Col. John Okey, to be communicated

can do all things in some measure, and have learned how to want, and how to abound; and can say, to live is Christ, and to die is gain; praised be the Lord that hath made my heart fit in some good measure for the work which he hath called me unto; and, as I hear, my departure is at hand, so through the Lord's rich Grace and free Mercy to me his poor unworthy Servant, I am willing to be offered up; and if I be offered upon the Sacrifice of your Faith, I joy and much rejoyce therein.

I hope by the continual Prayers of you and the rest of the People of the Lord, he that hath begun that good work in me, will carry it on till the coming of the Lord Jesus. When I look upon my self, then I have cause to fear and tremble, for my strength is as weak as water; but when I look to the Lord Jesus, then am I strong, for he hath promised, *He will never leave nor forsake me*, nor all those that trust in Him. And I know, that through the Lord I shall do those things that may tend to the praise of his great Name in this evil day; and I hope by his Grace to honour Him more by my Death, than in all my Life before: for indeed, although I had a desire in the day of liberty to do that which was most for the glory of God and the good of his People, and on that account I did not think my Life, nor any thing I had, near or dear to me, and can say, I do believe no man did more rejoycingly go to lay down his Life than I did; yet I was accompanied with so many failings in my best doings, that I have cause to be ashamed and humbled for the best of all my services that ever I have performed; and praised be his holy Name, although I have nothing in my self to glory in, yet in Christ Jesus I can and will rejoyce; *giving thanks to the Father of our Lord Jesus, who hath made me meet to be partaker of the Inheritance of the Saints in light*, and for his unspeakable love to me in the Lord Jesus: for, *being justified by Faith, I have peace with our blessed God, through our Lord Jesus Christ*; to whom be praise and glory, both now and for evermore.

And now a word concerning the Cause, for which I am to suffer all that is near and dear unto me. I shall, as before the Lord (who only knoweth the hearts and thoughts of all men) tell you my Faith. I do believe at long-run there is not a man, that fears the Lord, will have any reason to be sorrowful for engaging in that *Good Old Cause*, which I am now to seal with my Blood again, as I have many a time done; I am satisfied in my soul, that it is a most *just* and *glorious Cause* as hath been in many years asserted; and although the Lord hath been pleased for the sins of his People, and for a great judgment

to the wicked of the three Nations, to let it be, in respect of the Cause, as it were the Sun setting for a night, yet it will certainly arise the next morning very gloriously, though now it be never so much reproached by the wicked of this day. And when I die, I shall die in the Faith thereof. And that most of the Reformed Churches in the world, by report, are all of that mind, and I my self have heard the same from many among them where I have been abroad. I bless the Lord I have no guilt upon me in reference to that Cause, if I had I would let you know it. And although many object against me that place, *Let none of you suffer as a Murderer*; yet I cannot, after much seeking the Lord, be convinced that I am such a one. And in case any did it, out of base ends of their own, I praise the Lord I had none, but looking at the *Glory of God*, and the *Good of his poor People* in what I did; and I bless the Lord I find the comfort of it at this day. And for the Cause, I shall say no more of it, than what the Parents said to the Pharisees, when they asked them if that were their son? they told them *he was of age, he should speak for himself*. So I say, this Cause hath spoken in most parts of the Christian World, and will speak more when we are dead, when the Fowls have eaten of our vile Bodies, that are to be set up on the Gates of the City.

I shall only add a word to the People of the Lord, to comfort them against sufferings for the Cause of God; for it is a most glorious thing and honourable, and therefore saith the Apostle James, *Count it all joy when ye fall into divers Temptations*. And to the Apostle Paul, *Rom. 5. We glory in Tribulation*. Also the like in *Phil. 1. 28, 29. To you is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake*. And so again the Apostle sayes, *Blessed is the man that endureth Temptation: for when he is tryed, he shall receive a Crown of life*. So the Apostle Paul rejoiced in his Infirmities, *Re. 2 Cor. 12. 10. proaches, Necessities, in Persecutions, in Distresses*. And he professes himself to be ready, *not only to be bound, but to dye at Jerusalem for the Name of the Lord Jesus*. *Act. 2. 13.*

Further, It is the duty of Saints to suffer, as the Apostle speaks, *He that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer Persecution*. We are also commanded, *not to fear their fears, nor to be terrified by any thing that evil men can do against us; but suffer as good Soldiers of Christ Jesus*. We are likewise to rejoice, in as much as we are partakers of Christs Sufferings, that when his glory shall be revealed, we may rejoice with exceeding joy. And as it brings peace to a man's own soul, so it rejoiceth the hearts of the Saints; for, saith the Apostle, *1 Pet. 4. 13.*

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possible, *we live, if ye stand fast in the Lord.* And therefore (dear Brethren) fear none of these things; for the Devil shall cast some of you into Prison, and you shall have Tribulation for ten dayes: but be faithful to the death, and you shall receive a Crown of life. (Oh my dear Friends) it is better to fall with Christ than to stand with Caesar: let us be willing to follow our Captain the Lord Jesus, who is gone before, as also the blessed Saints and Martyrs of Christ.

We use to say, *He is not worthy the name of a Souldier that will not follow his Leader.* Let us then follow Christ the Captain of our Salvation, who hath said to us, *Fear not him that can but kill the body, and can do no more.* Oh let us, I pray you, fear the Lord, and take heed of all sin; for let me tell you, *there is more evil in the least sin, than there is good in any thing this base world can afford:* And although here we may suffer, and be condemned of men as evil-doers, (as our Lord Jesus, and was called *Beelzebub*, and the like) yet this will be our comfort, that although men do condemn us, the Lord doth acquit us. You know what Christ saith to his Disciples, *Blessed are ye when men speak all manner of evil of you for my Name sake, and the Gospel, then do ye rejoyce and be exceeding glad.*

Thus I have given you to know in a few words, my thoughts concerning those three things I spake of in the beginning of this Paper. I had thought to have been more large, but am strangely prevented by my Keeper, and for want of time; Only one word to let you know, that blessed be the Lord for his great mercy towards me, I am at present in a peaceable and comfortable condition, although sometimes fainting fits do seem to seize upon me: for when I look on my self, then I have cause to mourn for my unworthy walking; but when I look up to the Lord, I have cause to rejoyce and to be glad, and do desire to praise his holy Name: Oh it is good to have our portion in the Lord, who is our only Good; for one smile of his Countenance is better than Life: And therefore (my dear Friends) above all things labour to give your selves up to the Lord, and appear for his Cause and Glory, and for the Gospel; and stand up for the Truth, for all Truth, and for the poor Saints at such a day as this is, so that you may with the Apostle say experimentally, *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the Faith; henceforth is laid up for me a Crown of Glory: and not only for me, but for all those also that love the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

And now my dear Brethren in the Lord, I bid you farewell, and commit you and yours to Him that is able to keep you from falling,
and

to some Friends about the City of London.
and to present you faultless before the presence of his Glory with exceeding joy. Now to the only wise God be glory for evermore.

Yours for ever in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Post-script.

Oh my Brethren, I have one request to you, that is, "That you would beg of the Lord, that the Saints may dwell more together in Love. And although they be not of one form, yet let them labour to be of one mind in the things of the Lord, and love as Brethren; and take heed of judging one another, which hath been a great fault. Give no offence to those that are within, nor to those that are without, as near as you can; That those that are out of the way may be won by your holy conversation in Christ Jesus.

Another Letter of Col. John Okey's, directed to an intimate Friend and old Acquaintance of his in London.

Hon. Friend,

I Do much rejoyce to hear of your good health, with your dear Wife, and that the Lord doth so much comfort and strengthen you in the day of your trouble, it is a great honour that he hath put upon you in this backsliding time, wherein iniquity doth so much abound, and most men are making shipwrack of Faith & a good Conscience, in this day of Jacob's sorrows, now that wickedness is established by a Law. Now the worse the times are, the Lord grant we may be the better. Oh Sir, suffering-times are very glorious, when the Lord is pleased to come in by his holy Spirit into the heart of a poor worm, there can be no restraint where the Spirit of the Lord is, for there is liberty; for the loving-kindness of the Lord is better than any thing that this base world can afford. My dear Friend, what a favour hath the Lord been pleased to cast upon you and me, that we should be called forth to bear witness to, and for, the Old Cause the Lord himself hath so often owned, by fighting our Battels, and in destroying of the proud Enemies of God and his Saints, so that the sound of it is gone through the whole World. And now I shall trouble you with a word, to let you know how it is with me at the present concerning the inner man. I do humbly desire to speak to the glory of the Lord's free Grace, that although I am in trouble on every side, yet not distressed; something perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast into Prison, but not destroyed: and therefore, blessed be the Lord, I faint

A Letter of Col. John Okey's, to a Friend in London.

not; for our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of Glory; 2 Cor. 4.16. We reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the Glory which shall be revealed, Rom. 8.18. and therefore the Lord grant that we may watch and stand fast in the Faith, quit our selves like men; be strong in his strength, and in the power of his might; and as *Josh* said, *Be of good Courage, let us behave our selves valiantly for our People, and for the Cities of our God, and let the Lord do that which is good in his sight,* 1 Chron. 19.13. Sir, I hear my time is short, and I am in some measure, through much mercy, ready to be offered up; and if I be offered up upon the sacrifice of the Faith of the Lords People, I shall joy and much rejoyce. Alas, you know I am a poor worm, and of my self can do nothing, but in the strength of the Lord I shall be able to do what the Lord shall be pleased to call me to: for he hath promised to lay no more upon me than he will enable me to bear; and therefore I do humbly beg your prayers for me, and the rest of my suffering Brethren that are in trouble with me here, or elsewhere, that the Lord would be pleased to stand by us, so that we be not ashamed of the Cause of the Lord and his poor People: it would have been better we had never made a profession of the Gospel, than for to deny any of the Truths of the Lord, or the Cause of his People: What are our lives in comparison of the Glory of God? better ten thousand of us should dye, than the Gospel should suffer: and therefore I do again beg your prayers to the Lord night and day, that the Lord would strengthen us with all might, according to his rich and glorious power, unto all patience and long-suffering with joyfulness; giving thanks to the Father, who hath made us meet to be partakers of the Inheritance of the Saints in light; who hath called us to suffer for the Truth, and not to fear base man, whose breath is in his nostrils: and although they seem to be in honour, yet in a few dayes they shall fall and perish, and become as the dung of the Earth, and men like themselves shall see them no more. Oh we have no cause to be troubled when we see wicked men made great; for when they die none of their pomp shall follow them; for, as they lived *undesired*, so will they dye *unlamented*.

My dear Friend, I am fain to break off for want of time, and I hope you will cover my weak lines; you have them from the heart that wisheth you as well as my own soul. Thus with my love to you, and my prayers to the Lord for you and yours, and to the rest that love the Lord Jesus; and now for the present I leave you to Him, who is
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A Letter of Col. John Okey to his Daughter.

able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of his Glory with exceeding joy; to the only wise God the glory and power now and ever.

Your faithful Friend till death, J. O.

A Letter of Col. John Okey to his Daughter.

My dear Daughter,

I Salute you in the Lord, wishing you all Grace here, and Glory hereafter. I am something troubled at the cruelty of wicked men that will not let me see you in such a day as this is; But it's not to be wondered at, for you know what the Scripture saith, The mercies of the ungodly are cruelty it self. But blessed be our good God, though they can keep our Relations from us, they cannot keep us from coming to our heavenly Father; within a few dayes we shall be out of their hands, where they shall afflict us no more; for there the Oppressed shall be free from the Oppressor, and therefore be not troubled for these things; I thank you for your love to me as much as if I had seen you: and although we are kept one from another in the body, yet we are not so in the spirit, but do rejoyce in one another: and be not much cast down for these outward troubles that we meet with in this evil world, where we are pilgrims and strangers, for it's the lot and portion of the dearest of God's People to suffer here in this world; but rather rejoyce that we are accounted worthy to suffer shame for his most holy Name; and I beg that you would be earnest with the Lord, that he would be pleased to keep my heart close to himself, that I may not dishonour the Lord; nor bring a reproach to the glorious Gospel of our Lord Christ, and his Cause, which the Lord hath from Heaven so gloriously owned, by scattering of his Enemies so often as he hath done in the sight of the Sun, in bringing many of them to Justice, so that the sound of it is gone thorow the whole World, that it is the talk of the most part of the World; and this you may be confident of, that the day is not far off when God will give a glorious Resurrection to this Good Cause, that is so much scorned by the basest of men, who (as Daniel saith) shall fall in a few dayes like their own dung, and perish, and be seen no more; for God hath set them in slippery places, and therefore be not troubled at their prosperity, but wait on the Lord, and he shall give you the desire of your soul. And therefore my dear Daughter, I humbly desire you that you would more and more give your self up wholly to the Lord, to walk
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A Letter of Col. John Okey to his Daughter.

in all his wayes, and to delight in all his wayes: for, his wayes are all wayes of peace and paths of pleasantness, to all them that fear and love him; and although earthly fathers leave you, he will never leave you, nor forsake you, but will bless you here and for evermore; therefore rejoyce in the Lord, and again I say rejoyce. I am very sorry that I am not able to do that for you which I desire, and did intend for you and yours, which I should have delighted to have done; but the Providence of the Lord hath been pleased to order things other wayes, praised be his Name; and I hope the good Lord will supply all your wants through the riches of his Mercy in the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom I shall commit you and yours, who hath promised to do you good both in soul and body; for he hath said, When father and mother forsake you, he will keep you for ever: And therefore, my loving Daughter, be comforted in the Lord; for although I go before you, I shall not be lost, but we shall meet again in Glory, through mercy, where we shall part no more for ever, where we shall sorrow no more, nor sin no more, but shall be for ever praising his holy Name to all Eternity.

I shall desire you to remember me kindly to your Husband; if it please the Lord to bring him home, and to your Brother, and so to the rest of my Friends; and let your Husband know, that if it please the Lord to return to his People, he or his shall have a Portion; in the mean time the Lord will bless that little to you, that shall do you and yours more good than the treasures of the wicked; like to the widows oyl, and the harrel of meal, that wasted not until the Lord sent more: You know what David said, I have been young, and now am old, yet he never saw the Righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread: and Paul said, We brought nothing into this world, and it's certain we shall carry nothing out: having food and raiment, let us therewith be content. I am forc'd to break off at present, but I hope to see you once more, before I go hence and be seen no more. I shall desire you would have a great care of those little Children that the Lord hath given you, to bring them up in the fear of the Lord, whilst the Lord is pleas'd to let you be with them; And do also desire, as you would do any thing for me or mine, that you would be kind and loving to my dear Wife when I am gone, that is the last Request that I beg of you. And thus with my hearty love to you and your dear Husband, and to your Children, and to the rest of my Friends, and to John, and desire him that he would beg of the Lord, to give him an heart to love the Lord, and to walk in his wayes, and it shall be well with him here and for ever.

Some occasional Passages of Mr. Miles Corbet.

overmore. Thus in haste I commit you to the Lord, beseeching the Lord to keep you in all his wayes, and rest,

Your loving Father, in bonds for the Cause of
God and his People, till death.

John Okey.

*I bless the Lord I am at present well,
wanting nothing but an humble and thank-
ful heart to praise his Name.*

There was another Letter written by Col. Okey to his Son beyond
the Seas, to the same effect,

*An History of the Life and Death of Mr. Miles Corbet, being in-
tended shortly to be made publick (and so, many things reserved till
then) in the mean time, it is thought convenient that a taste be
given of some of those occasional Passages which fell from him
whilst he was a Prisoner in the Tower, in the hearing of several
Friends, who have faithfully collected them, to be carefully laid up,
and wisely improved by them that survive.*

ABout ten dayes before his Execution, an old Friend ha-
ving obtained leave to come to him, while yet a Close-
Prisoner, Mr. Corbet imbracing him, and rejoycing greatly
to see him, asked how he durst be so bold as to adventure
to give him a Visir, at *that time*, and in *that place*, and in *that con-
dition*?

His Friend answered, he was afraid of being charged at the day
of Judgment with *cowardise* or *want of love* to Christ, in not visiting
his Members in Prison.

To which Mr. Corbet smilingly replied, And let it be remembred
to you at that day, that you were one of the Visitors there meant
by our dear Lord, whose Servant I hope I am, and desire to
be.

But, Sir, said his Friend to him, I was in hopes you had been safe
enough, or at least would have taken care to be so, when once you
were abroad and had escaped *so long*. And truly I thought so too
(said Mr. Corbet) but God would not have it so. Alas! who can be
hid!

hid, whom he shall please to discover? It seems he hath other work for me to do, and I bless his Name for it, I am not dismay'd at all. When I was beyond Sea, I did the best to secure my self, and was careful not *willfully* to run into danger; it was a meer hand of God that I was seized on: for having not sent a Letter (saith he) in eight months time to my Wife, I went to the place where I was taken, to consult how to convey one safely to her, and being ready to go thence to my own Lodging, I was surprized suddenly; and though at first I was startled at it, yet I saw there was an *over-ruling Providence* in it, and so was quieted in my own thoughts after a little space, and found a power enabling me to submit. And now that the Lord hath brought me hither, and upon such an account as I am here for, His holy Will be done; for (through grace) I can truly say with the Apostle (*Col. 3.9.*) that *I am filled with the Will of God*. Had I continued abroad, I might have died in obscurity, and have been carried out into some hole in a *dust basket*, where my death would have signified nothing: but now God hath honoured me, in calling me forth to fight for him *with my blood*, and in my own native Country too, and in that famous City where I have had my breeding and education for many years, and where I have endeavoured to do my Master *Christ* the best service I could, while opportunity was in my hand. And this I can truly say in some measure (through grace, a word which he often used) that I account it an *high favour*. All my desire is, that I may not faint, nor any way dishonour the Cause that I am to suffer for, by my weak and unworthy carriage, which I confess I am afraid of, and therefore earnestly desire the prayers of Friends on my behalf, that God will be pleased to support me, and carry me well through this so hard and difficult a task.

Being asked what his Age was? He answered, Sixty seven years; the greatest part of which time (saith he) God hath been pleased to use me, more or less in publick services, having for thirty seven years been still a Member in the several Parliaments that have been called. In all which time (saith he) I bless God I have not sought my self, nor any worldly ends. And when I was (without any of my own seeking) freely chosen to be a Member of the *Long Parliament*, I saw my Call so full and clear, that I durst not deny but that it was of God; and though (saith he) the Trust and Work which I was to undertake, were very great, and like to prove *dangerous* to as many as would be faithful to *Christ's Interest*, yet (through grace, saith he) I was resolved to go through it, and accordingly I have done so, to the utmost of my ability,

ability, even to the prejudice of my own Estate and nearest Relations, as themselves can witness, and do now find (pointing to his Wife and one of his Sons there standing by.) Proceeding further upon this subject, Now in my Age, saith he, when I have most need of all outward comforts, they are and have been of late furthest off from me. I have neither *Estate* nor *Habitation*, nor wherewith to keep a Servant; yet in all this (saith he) I am comforted, because it is come upon me in the performance of my *duty*, and the defence of my Master's *Cause*, and do well know I shall be no loser at last by Him, he having been all wayes found to be a good Pay-master to them that serve Him in truth, as I have desired and endeavoured to do; Nay (saith he) I can say He hath payed me already: for though I have nothing of my own, no not so much as to buy Bread for me and mine, yet I want nothing. Ah! how good is God! and how good is his Word! how faithful and how true is He that hath promised! He hath said (*Matth. 19. 29.*) *Every one that hath forsaken Houses, or Brethren, or Sisters, or Wife, or Children, or Lands for my Name sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and that even in this life, besides the Inheritance of everlasting life hereafter.* I am sure, saith he, I have found it so, I have had many houses in mine Exile as free as my own; have found as much care and tenderness from strangers, as from my own Wife and Children! every body is kind to me! every body shews their love and their bounty to me! Ah! blessed be God, saith he, blessed be God! and so went on very largely in this melting and moving manner: adding among many other sweet expressions, a reflexion upon the Speech of good old *Polycarpus*; for even as he said, That *Christ* had been a good Master to him, and never did him hurt for eighty six years; so (saith he) may I say the like, *Christ* hath been a good Master to me these threescore and seven years.

Another time, discoursing of the frailty of humane life, and the many maladies and accidents that it is liable unto, he took occasion to speak of the manner of his own approaching Death. Alas! saith he, I might have dyed long since of some noysom disease, or lingring sickness; might have lain long weltering, and at last been as it were *smothered* to death in a *feather-bed*, and perhaps with the losse of my senses too, and the use of my *Reason* and *Memory*, as it happens to many that dye in age; whereas now I am *strong* in body (as one of my years may be) and of *sound mind*, having my Understanding in some good measure *vigorous*, wherby I hope to be made able (through grace) to become a *seasonable, holy and lively Sacrifice unto God*:

and as for the pain of it, I reckon it far lesse than what is usually felt in an ordinary sickness.

Indeed, the shame is something (saith he) the Reproaches, Mockings and Scorns that may perhaps be cast upon me all along the streets, in the face of the multitude; *but I set Heaven* (saith he) *against all these*; and considering what I shall enjoy there, can easily laugh at them, and wear them as the Badge of my Master's Livery, who himself also endured the Crosse, and despised the Shame.

Tyburn (saith he) is the place that I must dye at: Well! let it be so; blessed be God that hath so appointed it: for therein I shall be the more like unto my Lord, who suffered *without the Camp*, as a Malefactor too great to suffer within the City. But the more *ignominious* our Death, the more *conspicuous* will our Honour be, while we are made *spectacles to Angels and men*. And for my own part, I hope (through grace) I shall go willingly to meet my Saviour even at *Tyburn*, without the Camp, as the Apostle exhorts I should (*Heb. 13. 13.*) and there *bear his reproach*.

Some Friends to whom he spake thus, rejoycing to see him so sweetly supported: Truly saith he, it is a blessed thing to suffer for Christ; and if Conscience be clear, so that the suffering be not for evil-doing, there is a secret hidden comfort that goes along with it; and I bless God I have found it so, and do find it: yet must tell you, I have my *damps* and *fears* come in sometimes upon me, especially when I think of my *carnal Relations*, and other concernments of this world; which do what I can, will ever and anon rush in upon me, and then I find my heart *sinking*, and my flesh ready to *fail*, till God fetch me off again by the consideration of higher things; which that he will continually please to do, while yet I abide in the Land of the living, I still beg the help of your prayers. And indeed this was a duty he would be often at, especially when any new Friend came in that he judged fit to move it unto, and to joyn with therein.

He was in the dayes of his liberty for many years, a great lover of private seeking of God by Fasting and Prayer; and said in the hearing of Friends about two years since, at the end of such a day, *There was more sweetness tasted at such a Fast, than at the Lord Mayors Feast*. And was given much to Prayer after his coming from Ireland; and would much deny himself of Comforts he might have had, to prepare himself for hardship.

About a week before his end, hearing some special Friend was upon a Journey to visit him, said, *This Visit would be against his Burial*.

A few days before his suffering, certain *Gentlemen*, partly of his old Acquaintance, and partly such, as he said he never remembred he had seen their faces before, sent in divers good Dishes of Meats, with some Bottles of Wine, to Dine with him; which kindness he was much affected with, and said, it put him in mind of those good Women in Christ's time, and particularly of *Mary Magdalen*, who brought an *Alabaſter box of precious Oynment*, and poured on him as he sat at meat in Bethany, which (saith Christ, *Mark* 14. 8.) she did for my Burying, and shall be a kindness spoken of and remembred, where-ever the sound of the Gospel shall come through the whole world, *Matth.* 26. 6, — 14. Even so (saith he) me-thinks these good Friends here have prepared for my Burial. And why not for your Wedding rather? said a Friend that sat by. That is true too, said he; for it is the *Bridegroom* that I am going to, and hope to meet him shortly, and doubt not but he will meet me. Much of this kind of pleasant discourse passed that Dinner-time. But among other things that fell from him, this is not to be forgotten. Having occasion to speak of the former plenty and fulness of all things which he was wont to enjoy, and of his being now deprived of them; Truly, saith he, when I had the good things of this world about me, yea, even my fill of them, I was more carnal, heavy and earthy in my spirit, less mindful of my future state, and the much better things of the other world, present enjoyments took up, even all my heart, I am sure, much more of it than they ought: but these temptations being removed from me now in the time of my late *Exile*, me-thoughts I found my self much at ease, and wholly at leisure for Heaven, without having any desire at all to those former delights; and then using this comparison (which he craved pardon for, it being Dinner-time) A man, saith he, that hath the wealth, power, dignities and pleasures of this world, by which his mind is fed, and still irritated to give satisfaction to his own corrupt and evil heart, is like one that is troubled with the *Itch*, a troublesome distemper, which provokes him to scratch, and the more he scratcheth, the more he desires and delights to scratch, but all the while enrageth his distemper, and hurts himself; which when some *Physician*, a friend of his, sees, he dissuades him from scratching, and tells him he will prescribe something that shall take away the cause, and kill the itching humour, and so give him a more healthy and sound state of body. Nay, but in the mean time, saith he, I must scratch, and I will scratch, and cannot help it. Even so (said he) it was with me in the time of my prosperity, when I had wealth and power, and other earthly con-

rents about me ; but now that I and they are separated, my mind is more at quiet, and more free for a sweet communion and converse with God. Then he proceeded further, to tell the company at Table how he spent his time when he was abroad, viz. partly in Prayer, partly in Meditation, partly in reading Scripture. and the Writings of holy men, especially the *Notes of the Dutch Bible*, and the Works of his three choice Friends (as he called them) Dr. *Preston*, Mr. *Burroughs*, and Mr. *Bridge* ; and further said, that before he had done his task, which he every day set himself, and alwayes found delight in performing, the day seemed too short for him, and was gone too soon, one day seeming to *tumble and huddle* too fast upon another. And this, he said, was no small mercy to him, especially since he was deprived of all publick Ordinances, and the society of Christian Friends.

After he was risen from Dinner, he looked towards the Window, and seeing the people passe by, Truly (saith he) *I would not be as those people are that walk at liberty, and go where they will*, I am better where I am, and about better work, since it is that which my Master (meaning Christ) hath called me to, and counts me worthy to be employed in ; nor will it be long ere I receive my wages, though I confess I have done little or nothing for it, I am sure not in comparison of what I might or ought to have done. Ah ! the *Riches of Grace*, saith he ; Ah ! the *complete and al-sufficient Righteousness of Jesus Christ* ! Ah ! the *Satisfaction which he hath made for poor sinners* ! (which word *Satisfaction* he often mentioned) Yea, and how sweet is that word too, where it is said, He makes *Intercession for us, and lives to that end, and for ever too*, Heb. 7. 25. It will not be long now ere I know the meaning of these things more fully. Had I lived to dye a *natural death*, in all likelihood, it would not have been many years, being so aged as I am already, and then I might have dyed a worse death by far than now I am to undergo ; for this is an *honorable one*.

How great a Mercy is it, said a Friend, that God hath thus *quieted* your mind, and that he thus *cheers* and *warms* your heart, even while the thoughts of Death are upon it ! to have the fear of that *King of Terrors* thus banished from you, how singular a favour is it ! and what an argument of God's Love to you, and of his Presence with you ! It is indeed, said he, and I hope it is partly in Answer to the Prayers of Friends, whom I perceive God hath stirred up to pray much for me ; and I beseech you, saith he, let them not cease, but still hold

hold me up before the Lord, the little space I am yet to abide here : And because, saith he, I know not how soon I shall be called to my Tryal, I earnestly desire that some Friends would keep a day with me here in this place, if it may be with safety and conveniency ; if not, yet somewhere else : which, in answer to his desire, was done accordingly, upon Wednesday (*April 16.*) which was the day of his Tryal.

The next morning, being Thursday, some of his near Relations and Friends that came to visit him, having heard some malicious reports to his prejudice ; as that he had denyed his Name, and not owned himself to be the person that was mentioned in the Act, when he was at *Westminster* at the Kings-Bench Bar ; earnestly desired him to let them know the truth of things from his own mouth. To which he readily answered, That he was much mis-understood, and wrongfully presented, if any said so of him : And moreover said, That he blessed God, he was neither ashamed of his Name, nor of his Cause, nor of his Master, and hoped never should, and then related as followeth ; That his Brethren, Col. *Barkstead*, Col. *Okey*, and himself, being brought before their Judges, were there called all by their names, to which they made answer, and, as they were bid, held up their hands. Then the Question being put, what they had to say for themselves concerning the Fact which they stood there arraigned for, and which they were charged with in the Act of Parliament, at that time read before them. Mr. *Corbet* answered, he did not take himself to be the person named in the said Act, for that he did never maliciously, wickedly, and traiterously imagine, contrive or endeavour to murder the late King, as was there charged upon him in the said Act, and therefore desired them to prove it. What ! said some on the Bench, will you deny your Names now ? did you not answer to, and hold up your hands at those Names ? To which Col. *Okey* made answer (not understanding Mr. *Corbet's* drift, which was to have a Proof made that they were guilty in manner and form as the Act expresseth it) he would never deny his Name for the matter ; No more will I, saith Mr. *Corbet*, neither do I ; But may there not be more men of my Name, saith Mr. *Corbet*, that perhaps may have been guilty of malice against the King ? though for my own part I never was. Then Col. *Okey* began to perceive his mistake, and Col. *Barkstead* also, who being thus rectified, Mr. *Corbet* proceeded, and told the Judge, It was true, they were called by their right Names, and did accordingly own them ; yet (saith he) it doth not judicially appear to this Court, that we are the persons meant in the Act, putting

an emphasis on the word *Judicially*. No! saith one, the *Parliament* hath adjudged it, and you are the men; Yet however, said some, let a *Jury* be empanelled; and then the *Attorney General* saying that he was ready for a Tryal, a *Jury* was called, against which no Exceptions being made, Evidences were taken, and they found guilty. The *Judge* then asked again, what they had now to say why Sentence should not pass? Mr. *Corbet* replied, he humbly conceived the Proceedings of the Court were not regular, nor agreeable to former Presidents: for, according to Law, there ought first to be an *Indictment*, an *Information*, and *Scire Facias* (as was in the Case of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*) all which were pre-requisite to an *Issue in Law*, as their Lordships well knew; so that here was a *Conclusion without Premises*: Yet, if it should please the Judges to over-rule it, he was contented (carrying himself with much reverence and respect unto the Court.) To which either the *Attorney General*, or some other, replied, that Mr. *Corbet* said truth, as to ordinary proceedings, but here it was extraordinary, viz. by *Act of Parliament* in a Bill of *Attainder*, and then cited a *Book-case* of one *Stafford*, who was thus proceeded against, sentenced and executed in *Henry* the 7th time. To which Mr. *Corbet* replied again, he had nothing to say to that, but what the *Authority* of the Nation had made Law, he must submit to; and did acknowledge, as things stood, they did proceed according to the Rules given them, and in that respect did what was *just*, according to the present Law. But did you not confess the Fact, saith one, by your own flight? it being a known *Maxime*, *Qui fugam facit fatetur facinus*. To which Col. *Barbsteed* answered, that he for his part fled for fear of an Arrest, threatened against him for twenty thousand pounds for pretended false Imprisonment. Mr. *Corbet* said, that he for his part did not fly for twelve years together after the Fact done, and that any body who had a mind to it, might easily have seized him, it being well known where he was all that time; and when he did fly, it was not prohibited, nor any way unlawful, as conceived, for himself or others so to do; and now that he was returned again, he knew not that he was an *out-law'd person*, and if occasion had been, could have been ready to have traversed any Suit commenced against him. And as for what he had done in this business that there he stood accused for, he said, he was engaged in it by the then *Supream Publick Authority* of the Nation, the lawfulness of which *Authority*, he said, at that time was every-where acknowledged and reputed so to be; and had he not this to plead for himself, he should then have thought

thought that what was done by himself and others, had been *very wicked and abominable*. But the *Authority* being since that time changed, and new *Laws* made, by which both the *Fact* and the *Power* it self too, by vertue of which it was done, are both said to have been invalid (though the *Law-makers* at that time did not think so) he had nothing further to adde, but only to leave this one word with them, from *Isa. 33. 22. The LORD is our Judge, the LORD is our Law-maker, the LORD is our King, He will save us.* You mistake, saith one, it is not *Law-maker*, but *Law-giver* in the Text. But in the Margent, saith Mr. Corbet, it is *Law-maker*.

This is a true Relation of this matter, as near as possibly can be taken from his own mouth; if any mistake be in a word ignorantly related, or sentence misplaced, the Reader is desired to pardon it.

This Mr. Corbet having been heretofore bred at *Lincolns-Inn*, and known to be a *good Lawyer*, and late *Lord Chief Baron* in *Ireland*, and also much acquainted by long experience with Affairs of *State*, as having been a *Member* in all the *Parliaments* that have sat since the beginning of the late *King's Reign*; and being also further known to have been an *ancient*, and *long-experienc'd* sound Christian, a man of a very *tender Conscience*, and of an *holy Life and Conversation*, and that as well in his *greatest Prosperity* as in his *Adversity*: it was the earnest desire of many, even of all parties that knew him, fully and clearly to understand from his own mouth, (especially now in this time of his Affliction) what *inward peace, quiet and satisfaction* he had in his *own Conscience* touching that Act which he was *condemned*, and very shortly to *dye* for, and which passeth under so many dreadful names, of the most *horrid, heinous, wicked and unwarrantable Act* that was ever done; of the *vilest Murder*, most *execrable Regicide, detestable and bloody Crime* that men ever were guilty of; and like unto which, none hath been said to have been ever perpetrated in this world before; except the putting of Christ himself to death.

His Answer to this Question was the more desired, because he being taken for so *good a Christian*, and so *able experienced a Lawyer and Statesman*, as is before described, his Opinion therein would be the more *considerable*, and his words be of the *greater weight*, which side soever they should fall, whether to the *Justification* or the *Condemnation* of the *Fact*.

Now to this Question (which he said he had long before *examined* thorowly, and very well *digested*) he said, he would make this *true, faithful, and ingenuous Answer*, and hoped he should stand to it, and maintain

maintain it to his *last breath*. And although he did find (he said) some *near Relations* were not of his mind in it, yet for his own part he remained *steady* and *unmoveable* therein, and before several Witnesses (which he hath now left surviving) that heard him, declared as followeth.

First, he said, When he was named and appointed by the *Parliament* to be one of the Judges, he was not present in the House, nor did he at any time give his own *personal consent* thereto, or *approbation* of it, but rather fully resolved never to engage in that business.

Secondly, When the Bill came into the House, he spake *against* it, and gave his Reasons; nor could he be drawn by any Arguments to appear in the *High Court of Justice*, or allow of their Proceedings.

Yet, thirdly, The *state of Affairs* being as *then* they were, and the *Consequence* on both sides (either of owning, or not owning and joyning in that Act) being with much prayer and consideration *well weighed* by him, he at last came to a *fixed settlement* in his mind about these ensuing particulars.

(1.) That the *Supream Authority* of the Nation, as then it stood (notwithstanding the Alterations made in it) being *generally accepted* and *submitted* to at home, and *owned* by *foreign States* abroad, without any question made of it from the *body* and *bulk* of the People, (though here and there some scrupled it, whose Interest lay contrary) was *lawful* and *sufficient* to warrant all that was or should be done in reference to the late King.

(2.) That the *solemn Appeals* made to God on both sides, both by the King on his side, and by the *Parliament* on their side, all the time of the War, and answered so *distinctly* and *fully* from Heaven, on *behalf* of the *Parliament* (as all men then seemed to judge) did further *confirm* him in the *warrantableness* of their Undertakings and *righteousness* of the whole Cause.

(3.) That the foresight of such *miserable Changes*, as by return of the *Hierarchy*, and the concomitants and effects thereof (which he saw was aimed at, and did believe was intended by the *late King*, at least after some time) did greatly induce him to look into, and fully inform himself about the matter of the Charge against the said *late King*.

(4.) That upon *mature* and *long* debates of *Parliament*, and such as were authorized to search into the Charge aforesaid, he found things *fully proved*; and moreover said, that the matters objected were of a very *unusual* and *high nature*, but that which principally swayed him to do what he did, was the *Blood of Ireland*, and the *levying War* against

against the Parliament, who were thereupon forced for their own defence and the safety of the People (by whom they were trusted, and whom they did represent) to take up Arms, and so against their wills to maintain a most costly, dangerous and unnatural War.

(5.) That though he was now fully satisfied in his own mind of the lawfulness of the *Faith*, as well as of the *Power* by which it was done, and that it was his duty no longer to stand out, but to joyn with his Brethren as an *Actor* in it, or else might become guilty of *unfaithfulness* to the Cause of God and his Country ; yet such was his base and timorous spirit, that he kept back and would not appear in it, the rather, because he was much set upon by his Nephew, Sir Thomas Corbet (who then lived in the house with him) not to meddle at all, or have any hand in it. Now this Sir Thomas Corbet having a very considerable Estate, to which himself was next *Heir*, and which (in case he should go cross to his mind in this business) he had power (by cutting off the *Entail*) to give away from him and his Children, he was loth to displease ; for he saw apparantly which way his said Nephew was bent. Yet,

(6.) Notwithstanding this, *Conscience* wrought much with him, and would not suffer him (he said) to be quiet night nor day ; for, while, on the one hand, these carnal fears and disturbed thoughts pulled him from his duty (so he called it) yet, on the other hand, it pleased God more strongly to draw him to it, by often bringing and setting home upon his heart, that Scripture in *Revel. 21. 8.* *The fearful and unbelieving — shall have their part in the Lake that burneth with fire and brimstone.* This Text did so work and work in his mind, and so powerfully prevail with him, that though he had deferred to appear at the High Court of Justice till the very last day of the Tryal, yet then he durst stay no longer, but made haste to come in and sit among them, come what would come of it in this world ; lest the aforesaid punishment of the *fearful* should hereafter for ever befall him. And what he now did, he said he did it with a free and resolved mind, and he blessed God that had conquered his cowardly spirit, and enabled him at last (though late first) to come in and do his part, and in some measure to prove himself faithful and obedient to God's as well as the Nations Call herein. And further said, that upon the grounds before alledged, if all that hath been done were to be acted over again, he would do as he had done, and would not abate an inch of it ; which words he spake with great soberness and settledness of mind but the very day before his Execution.

Lastly, as to the whole business, he said, he could and did *appeal* to God the righteous Judge of all things, that what he did (as far as he could discern himself) was not out of any *ill spirit* towards the late *King's Person*, nor out of any the least *malice* or *disaffection* to him; nor yet out of any unworthy end or design of his own; for, as to the said *King's Lands or Goods*, or other publick Title, he never desired nor endeavoured to get any of them, but alwayes by *good Providence* kept himself free, that neither himself nor any of his, might grow *rich*, or make the least advantage that way. And as for that *necessary* and *publick Act* of Justice (as he called it) he did *never repent* at all that he had a hand in it, nor, after all the *searchings* of heart about it, did see cause so to do, when at any time he had the most *serious* and *calm* reflexions upon it: though he did confess, as to the circumstances of that Act (the *substance* whereof he said he must alwayes own) he had been compassed about with many sinful weaknesses and infirmities in the managing of it, as he had before in part hinted; which he hoped and believed were all *washed away* in the Blood of Christ.

This is a careful and true Collection of what at several times he said about this business to several persons, (and more than once too) and as near as possibly can be remembred, in his *own very words and syllables*, especially in those passages that are of the *greatest weight*. To which, let this expression of his be also added, That what he had now lived to see in the *late amazing Changes*, and *over-flowing Wickednesses* of all kinds, rather to be trembled at than reckoned up, did give no small *confirmation* and *justification* to those former Proceedings, which are now so much condemned.

On Thursday night late, when tydings were brought to him of his *suffering* the Saturday following, some persons came to *convince* him of the Sin for which Execution was to pass upon him, and to exhort him to *Repentance*, aggravating the *heinousness* of it: but the next morning he told his Friends, that they left him as they found him, not at all *altered*, by what they had said, in his opinion about that business; which he said, he had examined as thorowly as he could, and believing that he had a *good Warrant* both from God and man for what he did, he was *satisfied* as to that, whatever others did judge of it here, and therefore left it to be judged over again by the *Righteous Judge* of all, at the last and great day.

He said he found no *consternation* of spirit at all upon him, when he was before the *Kings Bench Court*.

Being

Being asked how he had slept that night after such *heavy* news? To this he *smilingly* answered, he blessed God he had *slept well*, much after the rate as he used to do, and that he found not any *consternation* or *fear* at all upon his spirit; for it was no more, he said, than what he expected, and as far as God was pleased to enable him, had been preparing for.

A little after, speaking of the *Journey* he was to take, I am going (saith he) where all *good souls* would be glad to be. The *Terminus à quo*, the place I am going from, is, *this present evil world*, even this evil world: and if ever it were evil, sure now it is, and now *more* than ever, so *evil* as I never thought to see it: and the *Terminus ad quem*, the place I am going to, is, *Mount-Zion*, the *City of the living God*, the *living God*, saith he, (doubling and putting an Emphasis on that word *Living*) and to the *heavenly Jerusalem*; which he also repeated again, putting the like Emphasis on the word *Heavenly*. Ah! saith he, this *living God*, and this *heavenly Jerusalem*, how sweet is the thought of it! the God that I am going to, is, the *living God*, the God that lives, that still lives, that lives always; whatever persons die, or whatever Cause or Interest seems to die, yet *He lives*, and can make what he will to *live*; yea, and to *live again* too, even after it hath lain for dead: And the *Jerusalem* that He lives in, is, an *heavenly Jerusalem*; an *heavenly*! that hath nothing of earthliness, no dross, no corruption, nothing of impurity, weakness, mutability or instability; Ah! this *heavenly Jerusalem*! Thus he descanted on the words, and even *fed* upon them. Then he proceeded after the same manner to what follows, *And to an innumerable company of Angels! to the general Assembly and Church of the first-born, which are written in Heaven, and to GOD the Judge of all, the Judge of all* (repeating that word) *and to the Spirits of just men, made perfect; and to JESUS the Mediator of the New Covenant* (which last words he staid long upon, doubling and trebling them again and again) *and to the Blood of sprinkling*, (which also he dwelt upon) Seeming to speak all with a very great fervor and inward joy upon his heart. Scarce an hour passed in the day, wherein he did not touch upon this Scripture in discourse with such *new Friends* as still came in upon him, it being the last whole day of his life.

When he saw the Room begin to fill (for now none were restrained) he said, it comforted him to see the faces of so many Servants of Christ together, and that they should express such *love* and *tenderness* as he perceived was in their hearts towards him: and truly, saith he, I take

it as a token for good, that such a poor worm as I am should be so much minded, should have a room in your affections and prayers. And though he was by constitution a melancholy man, yet the smiles were scarce off from his face all this day; every new Friend that came to see him, he heartily and smilingly embraced, and alwayes parted from them at their going away, with the like smiling countenance.

As he was speaking (in the afternoon) to a knot of Friends, some of them his old dear Acquaintances, whom he longed to see, and was much joyed when they came in to him, among many other excellent passages that fell from him, and cannot here be recalled, this was one that much affected those he spake to; *I am going* (saith he) *up to the Cloud of Witnesses*, and hope to make one of that number shortly; and though I shall ascend to them by the Gallows, yet that troubles me not, because *Jesus Christ hath sanctified the Gallows*.

It was a frequent speech which he used to many, Oh never be afraid of a Prison, of Exile, or any sufferings for Christ; if he give you a call to suffer, and to suffer for his sake, never be troubled at it, the Presence of God in that condition, and the supports he gives, will be so sweet to you, and will come in so seasonably, that you will think it the best time that ever you enjoyed. Believe it from my experience, I am a poor timorous weak man naturally, and yet can say (through grace) I never had so much of God in my whole life-time, as since I have been in Exile and in a Prison. When I was abroad in my hole, where I lived and saw few Friends, and wanted the comfort of publick Ordinances, I found God coming in to me, and making all up by Himself alone. And when I employed my self in reading and meditating upon his Word, my thoughts I found it the same to me, that Bread and Salt is at the greatest Feasts, the most savory and substantial nourishment. Though I wanted the varieties of dishes that others had, yet this I alwayes had my fill of; and had one benefit more than ever before, leisure enough to minde it. Heretofore I was encumbered with this business, and with that; but since I have been thus taken off, I have had all my time to my self, I have had leisure to converse with God and my own soul; I have had opportunity to search into the whole course of my former life, to ransack my heart, and to make all even between God and me, which advantage I would not have been without for a World.

He said, when he was in forreign parts, and considering his manner of life there, his incapacity of service, and the obscurity of his condition; he could then have chosen rather to be at witnessing-work for God,

God, than *preservation and safety in the former way*: but yet waited for God's Call to Suffering-service.

The evening of this last day of his life drawing on, some asked whether he found any fears begin to approach him, now that he was hastening so fast to his end? To which he answered, that he had more than once found a *double fear* upon his spirit; one was, lest he should faint at the time of his Suffering, and so dishonour God and his Cause; for, saith he, I may well fear this, when *my Master himself* had something of it as he hung upon the Cross, crying out, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* yet he was supported, saith he, and so I hope shall I; for he prays for us, *that our Faith fail not*. And besides, I can say (through grace) that I have comfortable Evidence that *my state is good*, as to the main, what-ever the *clouds* may be, or the *eclipses* that I may meet with. Another fear I have, saith he, lest through the *pride* of my heart, I be *puffed up* with the conceit of applause and vain-glory, which I find my self apt to be *tickled* with, and therefore entreat your prayers the more earnestly, that God will preserve me from both these.

Being asked, whether he intended not to *prepare* something to speak at the place of Execution? Truly, no, saith he, I shall trust God with that, and speak as he shall then be pleased to enable me, who hath promised, *it shall be given at that hour, what and how to speak*. If I should prepare any thing, especially about that which I desire most to speak to, and am to suffer for, and which haply will be expected from me, I know not how much I may be disappointed by *prohibitions* or *interruptions*; however, I doubt not but my *Death will speak*, and my *Blood cry*, as well as the *Blood of Abel*.

Some advising that *money* should be given to the Executioner, that he might be the more favourable to him, (he over-hearing it) I will have no hand in that, saith he; let the Sentence be executed, and the Law pass in the *rigor* of it. If the Executioner should be cruel, what makes matter, saith he, let him be as cruel as he will, the *more bloody he is, the better for me*: and then quoted a story, which he had read, of an *aged Martyr*, who when the Tormentor would have *spared* him because of his Age; Nay, saith the aged Martyr, *spare me not at all*, it is no matter for my Age: for, look how much thou *abatest* of my Torment, thou wilt rob me of my Crown. And indeed, he spake often of his Crown, and of that Inheritance (mentioned in 1 Pet. i. 4.) which is said to be *incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in Heaven for him*.

Having

Having been much spent in this his *heavenly converse*, and eat little or nothing all the day, some body mentioned a *Cordial* to be given him to refresh his spirits : A *Cordial*, saith he, what do you talk of that ? I bless God *I need none* ; his Favour, and the light of his Countenance is *Cordial enough* to me. However, his Wife brought him a Glas of Sack, with a toast in it, of which he drank a little, remembering his old Friend Mr. *Bridge* of *Yarmouth*, to another antient and reverend Friend of them both, which then he drank to.

Upon occasion of one saying to him, Oh how good is it to be ready when God calls ! Truly, saith he, I would be so, but me-thinks I am not so ready as I should be ; the *Bridegroom* (saith he) *is ready*, and the *Marriage-Supper is ready*, and the *Robes and Crown are ready* ; but *I am not ready*.

Supper being called-for, while the Cloth was laying, one going away, but desirous first to know of him how some Friends in *Holland* did, and what manner of converse there was amongst them, because of their *difference* in opinions ? (for it seems there are some of all parties gone thither, as well *Quakers* as others.) He answered with much grief of heart (for so he said it was to him all the while he was there) to see how much they *shamed* the *Gospel*, opening the mouths even of *strangers* against them ; partly, by reason of their *bitterness* against each other, and partly by their *pride* and *haughty carriage*, both in their *Apparel* and otherwise, very unsuitable (he said) to that *state of Affliction* that they are in ; and this in that place too whither they are fled for refuge : and then desired those he spake to, that they would tell all his Christian Friends and surviving Brethren he should leave behind him, that he made it his *last earnest Request* to them, even as *upon his knees*, and as a *dying man*, To lay aside this *hitter spirit*, with that *Pride*, *Covetousness*, and *conformity to this world* and the *fashions* of it, which hitherto God had been so much *dishonoured* by, and which have brought all that evil upon us that we now *groan* under.

At Supper-time, he began to discourse again (as his manner was) very *savourly* and *sweetly*, it being usual with him to be the *first* in this duty ; and indeed he was the fittest to begin, because he had so rich a treasure in him of *things new and old*.

Among other things, speaking of Dr. *Preston*, whom he often mentioned (calling him his Friend) and alwayes with great reverence to his name and worth ; he said, he was the most *fruitful man* that ever he met with ; and that his *custom* was, where-ever he came, especially at *meal-times*, to set on foot some profitable discourse, and would
always

alwayes carry it on without wearyness; and that he often said, he had found it very beneficial to himself, and successfull to others, as well those that attended at the Table, as those that sat at it. And did now himself make it another of his *last and dying Requests*, that this practice also might be commended *from him, and in his name*, to his Christian Friends; and that we would all endeavour, as much as might be, to *propagate* it every-where among the People of God.

Being something hungry, and tasting the *sweetness* of the Creatures there provided, he brake forth into great expressions of *God's goodness and bounty*; and said, when he was in his retirement abroad, he seldom saw a whole Joynt of meat, unless it were when they travelled in company together, and yet (saith he) I found God *all-sufficient* to me, even in my *short commons*. I was satisfied, I had enough, my *little morsels* were a *full table* to me. And then, enlarging his discourse farther (as his turn came to speak) *Ah! saith he, how sweet is Christ! how precious! His Person is precious, his Graces are precious, his Love is precious, his Name is precious, every thing of Christ is precious! Yea, said a Friend that sat by, and his Crosse is precious too! His Crosse, said he! I, there the Honey-comb lyes.*

His two Brothers being called away from the Table, a Friend went and sat in one of their seats next to him, and asked how he found himself, and whether the *nearer* he came to Heaven, his *desires* of it did not the more *increase*? Truly, saith he, I bless God, I am not of the mind of a *Judge*, that I once knew (but will not now name) who when he lay on his dying-bed, and Doctor (such an one, saith he, naming of him, but shall here be concealed, because being now a Bishop, perhaps he may be offended) exhorted him to think of the *long Journey* he was to take (for he was past hope of recovery,) To which (it being the time of the Judges Circuits in the Country, of which himself was appointed to be one) the said *Judge* replied, Truly, saith he to the Doctor, I have provided me a very good *new Coach*, and a set of *excellent Horses*, and I hope, if I can get over my present illness, I shall perform my *Journey* very well. Yea, but saith the Doctor, I mean your *Journey to Heaven*, for you seem to me to be a dying man, or words to that purpose. At that the *Judge* called to his Clerk there standing by, saying, What thinkest thou, *are there any Fines and Recoveries there*? Truly, said Mr. Corbet, this was a sad speech of a dying man, as if he were one that had neither thought or belief of a Heaven, or of a future state in another world. But I bless God for my part, my *Comfort lies there, and I*

can

can truly say (through Grace) I believe there is a Real Heaven; and that I doubt not, but as I am going to it, so I shall be shortly in the possession of it.

After Supper, Friends parting from him, received his hearty thanks for their acceptable society, and his desires, that they would not be slack in their prayers for him; for now he said, it was but a little while longer that he should need them.

The next morning (being Saturday, and the day of his Execution) his Wife coming in to him, (who lodged in the Tower that night) asked how he did? and how he had slept? *Better I believe* (saith he) *than my Girl did*, (meaning her his Wife.) For my first sleep, said he, from the time I went to bed, continued till two a clock, and I have had two sleeps since, and now shall need no more, neither nights nor sleeps, nor bed to lye on, but within a few hours more, shall be in my Fathers bosome.

When he was up, he prayed most affectionatly with his Wife, for near an hour together, and among other expressions used those words of our Saviour; *Father, if it be possible, let this Cup pass from me; but if not, thy Will be done*: earnestly pressing Him that he might be enabled to resign himself up to Him his God and Father that day, with all readiness and willingness; and, as it appeared afterwards, was answered in this his prayer.

Some Friends coming in, that had been often with him before, to see him once more, and to stay with him till the Sled should part them, and so to take their last leave of him; he imbraced them with great affection, saying, *Well! I see you will not leave me till you needs must*; this love of yours will not be forgotten one day, when Christ shall say to his kind Friends, *I was in Prison, and you visited me*.

Breakfast being brought in, and with other things, some burnt Claret; This is *Funeral-drink* saith he, and then drinking to his Wife, said, *I shall have better Wine anon in my Fathers Kingdom*.

As he was eating, he pointed to the several sorts of provisions that were before him, saying, *How much sweetness doeth God put into all these? yet all that is in them, how very little is it in comparison of what is in God himself? there is a drop of sweetness indeed in this creature, and a drop in this, and a drop in this, pointing to divers things, and to his Wife last of all; but I am going from these drops, saith he, to the full Fountain, where all sweetness is, and will be for ever*.

Having

Having finished his Breakfast with an Egg (which was the last thing he ate) he threw the shell away with these words (pronounced with a kind of rejoycing of heart) *Farewel creature-comforts, I shall use you no more.*

Breakfast thus ended, Mr. Corbet himself gave thanks, praying to, and praising God with such melting language, such readinets of speech, such a composed frame of heart, and such holy well-digested matter, that it much affected some that joyaed with him, to hear an *old Disciple* of Jesus Christ, so nigh his Death, and such a Death as he was within a few hours to undergo, to have a mind so sweetly settled, without any the least seeming disturbance at all. Among other passages in that his heavenly Prayer, these were some, *viz.* That as God had been his Guide unto Death, so now he prayed that he would be his Support in Death; that he would make Death a safe and speedy passage unto Glory. That God would enable him to make a good Confession of Him before men, and carry him well through that new kind of terrible work which he was now about to undertake in His Name and Strength, and in Witness to His Cause. That he might joyfully go hence, as from the use of creatures, which he had been now refreshed with, so most of all from Sin and the snares of it. With divers other like expressions fitted to his present case.

Time growing short, now I stand (saith he) upon *dying-ground*, and every inch is precious, I had need therefore improve it to the utmost; and so called to such as were present to joyn in Prayer with him, and for him, and accordingly they did so; the Lord assisting him that was the mouth of the Company with Petitions *very sweet, and pertinent* to the occasion.

The Prayer ended, he fell to discourse again, and speaking of Sufferings, Truly, saith he, it is not an *ordinary common spirit* that will fit men for such Work; and when I think of that froward and bitter carriage which still I find, and now leave among the People of God, I wonder what God will do upon it, and fear the consequence, if it be not repented of and removed. And then again, he renewed his aforesaid *dying Requests*, which he had mentioned the night before; further entreating that every one would make it their business, to persuade all parties of God's People, how differing soever in their Opinions, to give no further advantage to the *Common Enemy*, by their still continued *unbrotherly distances and divisions*, but that they would rather exhort and admonish each other, and set upon a *personal and friendly Converse* together, which (he said) is one of the best means to

unite and strengthen. And for this, he again propounded Dr. *Preston's* Counsel and Example, one, of whom (saith he) I may truly say, that he was a man of the *most excellent parts, the sweetest Friend, and the most savory Christian that ever I was acquainted with.*

A Friend coming in that he had not seen before, but wished for, made haste to one of the other Prisoners who expected him, and so took leave of him; then he taking the said Friend by the hand, desired him to remember him very kindly to his *Brethren and Fellow-Sufferers*, and tell them, saith he, that I pray for them as I am able, and desire them to do the like for me, *That God may appear for us, and with us, and be magnified by our Death.*

Then speaking afterwards of his *ten Brethren*, that first suffered in this Cause, *Those* (saith he) *that went first, had the greatest Honour*, and usually they that have the first Honour in Sufferings, have an *answerable Assistance and Presence of God with them*; but we that follow them may haply miss of such eminent Appearances as they had with them. Nay, saith a Friend, but why do you say so? were not their Assistances for the *encouragement of others*? and hath not God been very much with you? and do you not even at this present find it so? why therefore should you now doubt? To which he answered, It is true indeed, you speak well, I must confess I can say, *Eben-ezer, Hitherto God hath helped me*, and I hope, saith he, he will still do it, and enable me from former experiences to trust Him to the last; only this I find, that all my Comfort and Support comes in by a *present Faith*. I remember, saith he, that speech of the *Psalmist*, *Thy People shall be willing in the day of thy Power*; and truly, it must be a *supernatural Power* that must make flesh and blood willing: and, Oh that I may be willing! I desire to be so, for God doth not love an *unwilling sacrifice*, that must be *pulled and haled like a Dog in a string*. No, the excellency of our services, is from the *freeness and readiness* of our performance, when in sincerity and in truth.

Blessed be God saith one, I am comforted to hear you speak thus. If God (saith he) will be with me, I shall both speak and do too. Ah, saith he, when I think of *Stephen the Proto-martyr*, how the Heavens opened upon him, and what a sight they gave him of the *Son of God*, whilst the stones were about his ears, it much encourageth me. Some think, saith he, it was the *intenseness* of *Stephen's* natural eye, at that time raised and strengthened on purpose to behold that most comfortable and glorious object; but if God will please to give me *an eye of Faith* to behold him at the *Throne of his Father, interceding for me,*

me, and ready to receive me when I am giving up the ghost, and pouring out my blood for him, it will do as well. Ah! the Righteousness of Jesus Christ, saith he, his compleat and most unsporting Righteousness! the Righteousness of the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world! Ah! how glorious is it to appear before God in *that Robe*! Oh! that I may be found not having *mine own* righteousness, but the Righteousness of *this Son of God* upon me. Then a Friend telling him, that so long as he held there, he would have good hope indeed, and a solid and sound peace; for it is that Righteousness that *we must all trust to, if ever we get to Heaven*. Yea, saith he, and through Grace I have trusted to it; and the more I think of it, the more I cleave to it, and see the need of it; *me-thinks it grows upon me*, I am greatly raised with my expectations from it, else I am sure I should have sunk long ere this time: but still I can say, *Eben-ezer*, (an expression much used by him) *hitherto God hath helped me*.

About an hour before the Sleds came, he was speaking of the Providence of God in freeing his mind from cares and distractions about matters of this world: Had I had an Estate (saith he) to leave behind with my Relations, I should have been troubled about the *dividing and disposing* of it; one would have been asking *this* of me, another would have been asking *that*, but now I am eased of all that trouble; what Estate I had, *I spent it all in the Parliament service*, and now must leave my poor Wife and Children to the *good Providence of God, and the love of such Friends as he shall please to stir up to pity them*; and then spake to such as were present, that they would shew what Kindness they could to his desolate Wife, there standing by him: at which, when she fell a weeping, he turning to her, said, *Ah my Dear, shall we part in a shower?* may I not say, saith he, as our Saviour did to the daughters of Jerusalem, *Weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and the Calamities that are coming upon you*; for verily, saith he, you are entering into great Sufferings, and such as I am persuaded, saith he, *will shortly send some of you after us, up into our Country*, lifting up his eyes towards Heaven.

Not long after the noise of the Horses and Sleds were heard, as they came in at the Tower-Gates, which one telling him of, and saying that the Sleds were come, he turning quick about, *Call you them Sleds* (saith he) *they are the Chariots which are sent to fetch us to Heaven*: adding presently thereupon, *I shall now go from the Tower to my Coronation*; which words he uttered again, before he went, that morning.

As the Discourse went on (for he was always dropping some excellent speech or other) when it was his turn to speak, he affectionately touched upon that place, in *Rom. 8. 19 to 24.* where mention is made of the earnest expectation of the Creature to be delivered from bondage ; the word (saith he) signifies such an expectation as one hath that puts his head out at a window, to see whether the party looked for be coming, and within sight ; Even so (saith he) it is with me now (moving his head towards the window) *Me-thinks I look for the Bridegroom, me-thinks he is nigh, yea, very nigh, even at the door there,* pointing that way with his hand.

His Opinion being asked, what he thought of the Cause of God, that now seems to lye in so *forlorn a condition*, and to have miscarried so much, besides the hopes and expectations of them that fear and love the Lord ? Truly, saith he, how *justly* it is come upon us, I need not relate, and by what means too, it is *visible enough*. God's own People have done *foolishly*, yea, *have sinned greatly*. How worldly did they grow ? how high and stiff against each other ? How solicitous and busie was every one, to set up his *own Party and Interest* when power was in his hand, without minding the *general and common welfare* of their Brethren ? The truth is (saith he) all Parties have been blame-worthy, and every one more or less hath contributed to the *common heap of Guilt*, and may look to share in the Punishment ; yet, saith he, could we see an *humble, self-denying, self-judging, and reforming Spirit among all parties of good men*, and an hearty readines and endeavour in every one to *unite, heal, and close up breaches* between God and themselves, much might be hoped ; but without this, how weak and feeble must our hopes needs be ? so that though I do not (saith he) but God will *revive his Cause again*, and in due time, not only give it a new life, but make it flourish more than ever, yet not till his People have repented, and gotten their *Pardon sealed*. I remember (saith he) that Text, in *Psal. 79. 8.* *Remember not against us former Iniquities* ; or (saith he) as the Dutch Notes hath it, *the Iniquities of them which have been before*. And sure then (saith he) if *former Iniquities*, and the *Iniquities of them that have been before*, must be prayed against, till they be forgiven and forgotten, ere better times can be expected ; then *present Iniquities* must be done away also. The People of God had need look about them, and see what it is that *hinders Mercy*, that *keeps good things from them*, and remove it as fast as they can, else in vain will their hopes be.

Indeed,

Indeed, we are apt, saith he, to be *quick* in our expectations for good, but *slow* in our amendments. I remember a passage (saith he) in the *Dutch Annotations*, upon the words of Eve (*Gen. 4. 1.*) when Cain was born; *I have gotten a man* (saith she) *from the Lord*, understanding thereby, *the promised Seed which should break the Serpents head*; as if Cain had been that promised Seed, when as it proved quite otherwise, God having another channel for that *precious Seed* to be conveyed through, *not so soon by far in the time of it*, as Eve dreamed of. Even so (saith he) we are apt to conclude upon promised Mercies to be accomplished about *such or such a time*, and by *such or such Instruments*, but we may be deceived; and yet *God will not be worse than his Word*, or let the *Faith and Prayers* of his People go away ashamed. As for his Enemies, they sometimes seem to carry all before them, and think to remove *every person and thing* that crosseth their design; but they consider not that God is able to *finde or make* new Instruments for his own Service and Glory, when the *old ones are gone*: but the worst that they do, or can do, even then when their Power and Rage is greatest, is *more Gods work than their own*; For, what is it can come to pass without his *fore-ordination and appointment*, or can possibly happen *contrary to his wise Decree*? Our Adversaries think now by this their *severity* towards us, to *advance* their own cause; whereas who can tell but that God may get himself *more honour*, and we may do him *more service* by our Deaths (how sharp and ignominious so ever they be) than ever we did in *all the time of our Lives*?

His Wife weeping (as she often did) at his heavenly discourse, saying, Oh! *what a precious Husband shall I lose*! he said to her, Ah! my dear heart, why dost thou weep thus? may I not say unto thee, as Paul did to his Friends at Cesaria (*Act. 21. 13.*) *What mean you to weep and to break my heart? for I am ready, not to be bound only, but to dye for Christ*. He died for me, and gave his Life for me; and what *greater honour* can befall me, than to die for him? and taking his Wife by the hand, said, Truly *Mol, thou wilt greatly engage my heart to thee, if thou wilt now willingly yeeld me up to God*.

Time hastening, the Warders desired the Company to depart, and left only two or three Friends in the Room with him, besides his Wife and Son. Now, saith he, as ere-while I took leave of the *Creatures*, let me take leave of *Duties* too, at least in this place, and with you my Friends and dear Relations: for I may now say, *Farewel Faith, and farewell Hope*; but *welcome Love*, for that shall remain still, even for ever;

ever!; since I may truly say with my old Friend, Dr. Preston, I shall only change my place, but not my Company; words uttered by him, when with a sudden death he went to Heaven.

Then he prayed briefly, but with most pithy words, full of life and power, some of which were as followeth.

Oh holy and dear God and Father, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and my Father; look down upon thy poor Worm with an eye of mercy, that is now coming to Thee; it will be an hour of darkness if Thou shinest not, shine therefore, O thou Fountain of Light and Love! how else shall thy poor Worm be comforted, or enabled to go through what he is to suffer? O take the sting of Death away; how dreadful will the thoughts of Death be, if that be not done? how shall thy poor Worm grapple with the King of Terrors, if Thou be not with him, to stand by him and support him? Oh let all the Sins of thy poor Worm be done away, wash thou his Soul in thy Sons blood; Remember not against him former Iniquities, but prevent him with thy tender Mercies, now when Thou hast brought him so very low. Accompany thy Servant whither he is going; take the Soul of thy poor worm into thy Bosom, and let thy holy Angels be in readiness to receive it. With more words to the like effect.

Whilst he was finishing his Prayer, there was a noise at the door, occasioned by some that hasted to come in (not knowing what he was about) to tell him that he must prepare for the Sled, but that he should be called for the last of the three.

In the mean while he fitted himself for his Journey; and first be-thought himself of his Cap, saying, *Must I not carry a Cap to the Gallows?* and so looked out the best he had. Truly (said he) I had almost forgot it, but it may well be excused, for I have not been used to these things.

Then he took his Bible (which he promised to send back and give to his Keeper when he should have done with it) and put it into his pocket to carry with him as his best and surest Friend and Companion both in the Sled, and at the Gallows. Next, he put a little bottle of Cordial into his pocket for his use by the way, if occasion should be; but I hope (saith he) *I shall find a better Cordial, else I know I shall faint for all this.* This done, and his clean linen got on, viz. Band and Cuffs, with his Cloak clean brushed and fitted about him, and also a new pair of Gloves put on, which his Wife had provided for him, and which he called his Wedding Gloves, he was now in readiness when-ever he should be sent for: which a Friend taking notice of, put

put him in mind of a speech which fell from him the night before; saying, Sir, you said last night, the *Bridegroom was ready, and the Marriage-Supper was ready, and the Robes and Crown were ready, but that you were not ready*; Me-thinks you are ready now! and a very trim and handsom Bride! to which he smilingly replied, Am I so? the Lord make me so; blessed be God, I can say I am willing to it, as I have good reason, for I am sure 'tis the best Bridegroom that ever was, that I am going to. And you need not be ashamed to go; saith his Friend, considering what garments you are clothed with, and how you are decked (alluding to those words in *Isa. 61. 10.*) To which he replied, What-ever we have of that kind, it is all of our Bridegroom's own cost; He is not like other Bridegrooms, for, He purchaseth his Bride, he cloaths her, and he adorns her; whatever beauty she hath upon her person, or love in her heart towards the Bridegroom, 'tis He only that put it in her.

Some of the Warders at the door, asking if he would please to go? Doth the Gentleman-Jaylor call for me, saith he? No, said they. Then, said he, *I have not my Warrant yet to go, I must stay for that first, till that come, my duty is to be passive*; it being with me, as it was with Peter, who was to be carried whither he would not; yet when I am called, *I hope then I shall go without further bidding*. Then he reminded us of being in the way of our duty, and in that to trust God; but take heed (saith he) of neglect of duty, take heed of sinful compliances, of apostatizing from God; take heed of Superstition, Popery, Idolatry; keep close to God and his Truth; Oh! trust God, trust in him, and then he will never leave you.

And now a Messenger was indeed come, to tell him, that the Sheriffs were ready for him; and *I for them*, saith he, and so presently hastned away, without taking leave of his Wife; which one perceiving, said to him, Will you not speak to your Wife before you go? O yes, said he, and then turning back, saluted her, and committing and commending her to the Lord, bid her farewell: but she clinging to him, cryed out, *Oh my dear Husband! my precious Husband! what an Husband shall I now lose! whom I have not prized, whom I have not improved as I ought and might have done!* Oh, saith she, *what will become of me!* At which carriage of his Wife, though some tears were ready to start from his eyes, yet he conquered himself, and taking his Wife by the hand, said, *O my dear Wife, shall we part in a shower?* (which words he had used on occasion once before) *be contented*, said he, *God will be an Husband and a Father to thee and thine*, with other such like good words,

words, and so kissing her, turned to his Son *Miles*, whom he took by the hand and *blessed him also*, and then hastened to the Sled, desiring a Friend to stay with his Wife and his Son to comfort them.

When he was bound in the Sled, and ready to be drawn away, one that had shewed him some kindness in the time of his Imprisonment, took him by the hand, and asked him how he did? *Me-thinks*, saith he, *I begin to see the Lord appearing*, looking up to the Skies, which at that time (saith he that he spake to) were as *clear and bright* as he had ever seen them: To this Friend *Mr. Corbet* said, *Farewel*, and *the Lord requite you for all the Civilities that I have received from you.*

As he rid along he carried his Bible in his hand, with his eyes much fixed upon the *World* over him that he was now going to; and being naturally a very *black, swarthy, melancholy man*, and aged also, his countenance seemed sad and dejected at a distance, which caused such people as knew him not, to think his heart within too was like his face without, but they were *much mistaken*; for, though he abounded not, nor was lifted up with ravishing joyes, as some have been, yet he had an *inward, firm, solid, well-secured Peace and Comfort*, which was not now new to him, but which he had enjoyed and lived upon many years: as is evident by many passages which came from him even while in the Sled, take two for instance till more come.

When one asked how it was with him, after he had been drawn a good part of his way? he gave this chearful answer, *I am well now*, saith he, *but I shall be better anon, when I am gotten yonder, above that place*, pointing to the Heavens before him.

Not long before he got to the end of his Journey, one came from a Friend to the Sled side, to tell him, that endeavours were used to get his Body for burial. *What care I* (saith he) *what becomes of my Body when I am dead; let them do what they will with it, I blesse God my Soul is safe.*

Many other *excellent Passages* are yet behind, scattered in the hands of several Friends, which cannot be yet brought together; but care is taken that they shall not be lost, but are all preserved to a more large Account, when the afore-mentioned *History of his Life and Death* comes out, together with several *choice Letters* of his, very worthy of Record; All which will ask some time to prepare, and put them into due order for the *Presse*.

The *Several SPEECHES and PRAYERS*, of
Col. *John Okey*, Col. *John Barkstead*, and *Miles Corbet*,
Esq; at the place of Execution, *April 19. 1662.*

UPon *April 19. 1662.* being the day appointed for the Execution of Col. *John Barkstead*, Col. *John Okey*, and *Miles Corbet*, Esq; who were drawn on three several Hurdles from the Tower to Tyburn; Col. *Barkstead* was first brought to the place of Execution, and then Col. *Okey*, and then Mr. *M. Corbet*, who at a good distance of time one after another mounted a Cart, which was prepared for them to stand in whilst they spake to the people.

Col. *John Barkstead* was the first that ascended the Cart; And as soon as he was in, he lifted up his eyes to Heaven, and said, *Blessed be God*— and then immediately one, supposed to be of the Life-guard, cryed out very loud, *He is almost dead; if he be not quickly hanged, he will be dead before: therefore hang him, hang him, before he be quite dead: See how he looks.*

But, being much spent, he waved speaking to that; And after he was tyed up, finding the Rope very strait, he would sit on the side of the Cart to rest himself, but could not till the Rope was somewhat loosened. After resting himself, it was expected he would say something before the other Prisoners came, which was at least half an hours distance. The Sheriff therefore spake to him to this effect.

Sheriff. *You must not speak any thing in justification of such an horrid Offence, for which you came hither to suffer.*

To which Col. *Barkstead* replyed, *I cannot speak much, by reason Barkst. of the weakness of my body, I desire to get as much refreshment as I can before I speak.*

Then the Sheriff spake to Mr. *Hastings*, who was Under-Sheriff of Sheriff. the County of *Middlesex*, *Will not you dispatch one first of all?*

To which the Under-Sheriff answered, *We use to hang all together. Undersh*
Col. *Barkstead* then lifted up his eyes and hands to Heaven.

Then replyed the Sheriff, *Let it be according as it use to be.*

Sheriff.

Then said the Executioner to Col. *Barkstead*, *You may be going on Execut. in your own prayers, and lose no time.*

Barkst. I shall be but short; and taking something out of a silver Box, putting it into his mouth, lifting up his eyes, said, *I bless God, I have a better Comforter than this.*

Then being asked by some person of quality, whether he were not sorry for what he had done? He answered, Sir, *I shall be sorry for whatever the Lord convinceth me to be a sin. When the Lord sets home that upon my soul, I shall express it unto God and man; and truly that must be from him alone.*

Mr. Th. Then Mr. Thomas Porter spake to him. *I am sorry to see you there; Porter. but you will be a happy man within this half hour.*

Barkst. *I have, I bless God, an assurance through Jesus Christ that I shall be so; but feeling the Cart stir under him, as he did several times before, and thereby the Rope pinched him, he desired it might be eased.*

Then Col. Okey was brought towards the Cart, and when Col. Barkstead saw him, he lifted up his eyes and hands.

Some of the Sheriffs Officers, when Okey came to the Cart, said of him, *That he was a lusty stout brave man as ever fought in England.*
 Sheriff. Then said the Sheriff to Col. Okey, *I hope I need not give you this Caution, that you make no justification of this horrid Offence, not to justify that Offence for which you are brought hither this day.*

Okey. To which Col. Okey made this reply; Sir, *I must not lye for God, much less for you; I hope you will give me leave to speak what lies upon my conscience, whether I am guilty or not guilty. We will speak something of what lyes upon us.*

Okey. Then Mr. Corbet being at the Cart ready to come up, Col. Okey stooping down to help him up, said, *Come brother Corbet, how do you? and clapping his hand upon his breast, said, I thank God, I have it here.* Then speaking to the Sheriff, he said, *May I have my Hat on, or stand bare?*

Sheriff. Which you please, said the Sheriff, *you have your liberty for that.*

Then Col. Okey address'd himself to speak to the People as followeth.

Colonel Okey's Speech.

GENTLEMEN,
THe Providence of God hath brought me to this place, to pay that which every man oweth. I shall not trouble you with what is superfluous, which is, to tell you of my Family, which of all the Families in Israel was the least, and I was the least of that Family. It is not unknown to most here what troubles have been in this Nation, and how eminently the hand of God did appear therein. Among many others that were called forth to serve the King and Parliament (as then the Cause was stated) I was one, which I did faithfully, according to the best of my power and knowledge. I here do bless God that

I was called to that Work: For I am perswaded in my heart, that it was for the *Glory of God, and the good of his People*, however it was turned at last: and if I had as many lives, as I have hairs on my head, I should have ventured them all in that Cause. I have nothing upon me as to that, and I thank God I am fully satisfied as to that Cause: but I shall say no more to that, but only this in general, That as the Parents of him that was born blind, being asked by the *Pharisees* how he came to his sight? answered, *He is of Age, let him speak for himself*: and so the Cause is sufficiently able to speak for it self. But as to that vvhich I have been adjudged for, and am come hither to give my Life for, *viz.* the Death of the late King, I shall only say thus much, That I think most of you know, that I was none of the Counsel within or without, neither did I know any thing of the Tryal of the King, or who were the Judges, till I saw my Name inferred in a Paper; and I did sit there but once or twice: but for any malice to him, I had no more than to my own soul, but prayed for him to the last hour of his life, as I did for my self; and so I have done for this King also, which is my duty to do. I have many hundred times since I went out of *England*, this two years last past, and before also, begged with tears of the Lord, if there were any iniquity or malice, or any thing of that nature in what I did, that God would shew it to me; yea, the like I did this very morning, beseeching the Lord, that if I had any guilt of his Majesties blood upon me, or any hatred against him, he would reveal it to me, that I might here confess it before you all. But I have nothing upon my spirit as to that. And what ever other men did I shall say nothing to that; as for my self I can say again, that I got not any thing by it, but remained in the same condition; I was a Colonel before, and was no more since: I thank the Lord I am clear in that. (Then, making a stop, he said, there is such a noise I cannot speak) And, Sir, I shall tell you now vvhhat is upon my spirit: I take vvhhat hath befallen me as righteous and just from the Lord for my unworthy walking, for being no more zealous for God and his People, no more fruitful in my Generation, and no more thankful: but as for that thing, I thank the Lord, I have no guilt upon my spirit. And as for all my other sins, I confess they are many and great, but I thank the Lord he hath given my soul the pardon of them all, through the Blood of Christ, for his Name sake, and through the Riches of his Grace, and his abundant Mercy towards me. And now I will only speak a word to our Friends here. You all know we have had many troubles, and much blood hath been shed, and there hath been a vacancy as to a

single person : But the Nation did earnestly desire him that now reigns, and I wish from my soul he may reign gloriously and righteously ; and reign here so, as he may reign for ever. And now they have the great Mercy they did desire, I wish that they would make a right improvement of it, and that they would walk in some measure answerable to that mercy that they have so much desired. I shall beg this, as a dying man, That as they have received a Mercy, which they account so exceeding great, that they would walk answerable to it, that God might have the glory, and the Nation might yet flourish in Peace and Righteousness. I shall beg of these Gentlemen, and all others that have a great affection to their King, that they would pray more for him, and love him more ; and that they would swear less, and drink less : for, if you were beyond Sea, to hear what I have heard of this Nation, it would make your hair stand on end, and your ears to tingle. They say certainly, that notwithstanding the great answer they have had of their desires, yet, if they go on in the way of wickedness and Blasphemy, which they report do abound in *England*, (for my part I have been a close Prisoner, and have spoken with no body almost since I came) that this Nation cannot stand three years together : therefore I shall make it my humble request, That as this Nation hath flourished and gone beyond other Nations in Piety and Religion, it might flourish ten times more than it hath done this many years upon the same account. It hath been a Nation that hath professed the Gospel, which indeed hath flourished here more than in any other Kingdom, and so it hath had more glory and honour than other Nations ; and I desire it may continue, that you may have Peace within your Palaces, and Plenty within your Dwellings. Oh that every man would study in his place to fear God, and honour the King, and to give glory to God, and walk in some measure answerable to those many mercies they have and do enjoy ; And, that as they have what they so much desired, every man would now beg that the Gospel may flourish, and that Righteousness and Truth may be in the midst of you. There is something that I shall speak more, I would be loth to speak so, as to offend you in any thing. (Then replied the Sheriff, *I am glad to hear these Expressions from you.*) Sir, let me tell you, because it's a very great matter, and looks like a black thing that is charged upon us in the *Indictment*, I should have abhorred it, had there not been a face of Authority, an Authority that then was owned ; had it not been so, I should have abhorred to have done any thing in that business, as much as any Gent. here : therefore, I thank God, I have peace as to that, and

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and Peace as to the Pardon of all mine Iniquities whatsoever, through rich Grace and Mercy : And truly as to the Cause, I am as confident even as I am of my Resurrection, That that Cause which we first took up the Sword for, which was for Righteousness, and for Justice, and for the advancement of a godly Magistracy, and a good Ministry (however some men turned about for their own ends) shall yet revive again. I am confident, I say, That Cause for which so much Blood hath been shed, will have another Resurrection ; that is, You will have a blessed fruit of those many thousands, that have been killed in the late War: But I would leave this to all my Brethren and Friends, that they would keep their places, wait upon God, stand still and see the Salvation of God ; and rather suffer than do any thing to deliver themselves by any indirect or unjust wayes. If his Majesty had been pleased to have given me my Life, or if I had come over, or heard, (for I had a Warrant for my return into England from the House of Commons, but I fell short two dayes, and so was faine to go back) time enough of the Proclamation ; I would through the blessing of God have lived quietly, and rather have suffered than have done any thing against the Law of the Land, and I would say this to all good men and others : Rather to suffer than take any indirect means to deliver themselves ; but to wait upon God, keep their way, stand still and see the Salvation of God : And God, when it shall make most for his own Glory, and the good of his People will deliver, and that in such a way, that himself shall have Glory in, and the Gospel shall have no Reproach by. But because some think we are enemies to Magistracy, and Ministry ; I shall only say this, That I alwaies (I thank the Lord) did pray both for Magistracy and Ministry, and that you might have righteous Laws established, that so *Judgement may run down like a Stream, and Righteousness like a mighty River* : And that shall be my Prayer now, That God would give you Peace and Truth, and scatter them that delight in Blood and War.

Mr. Corbet's Speech.

VVE are now dying Men, and upon dying ground, & we are now in the presence of the great God, to whom we are now going: Truly I desire to speak in His Fear touching that which we are here come to suffer for. I will only say this (*Mr. Sheriff*) both the Levying of the War, and that Act that we are now accused and condemned for, if they had been done without Authority, they had been abominable; and to justifie that Authority, I do not come here to do it. The Parliament, the

the Wisdom of the Nation, that now is, hath decayed it down, and said 'tis void; and the Court of Justice, where we have been in pursuance of their Judgement, have given Judgement against us. Truly so long as that Act of Parliament stands on foot, Judges must give Judgement accordingly; But there hath been many Appeals about that Authority, and the Nation hath been governed by it, and the Nations about us have owned it, and we are now going to God who is the Righteous Judge, and that Word is upon my heart, *Isa. 33. 22.* Truly Men may judge, and they may make Laws, and it is our duty to submit to the Laws of the Nation, or leave it if we think them too hard. But whatsoever Laws are made, God is our Judge, and he will Judge this Cause, and God is our Law-giver: It is a Scripture phrase, *God is our Law-giver*, and *He is also our King*, and *he will save us*: *He will Judge the Cause of his People*: And I hope that the minds of sober Men will wait for that Judgment. Truly Mr. Sheriff, as concerning that common aspersion laid upon us, that we should be against Magistrates and Ministers; the Lord knows it is my Principle, and I desire there may be a standing settled Government, a godly Magistracy, and likewise a godly Ministry in this Nation. And I pray God grant that his People may be blessed under them; and truly, for the Magistrate that now is, the hand of God hath brought him into the Throne; while I have been in other Nations, I have blessed God, and desired the Lord that he may Rule for God, and be a terror to evil doers, and countenance the true Professors of the true Protestant Religion, that he may defend both Religion it self and the Professors of it. Truly there have been many (as they call them) Sects and Heresies, that have sprung up in these later times; but blessed be God, there have been also great appearances of God, and much Light is broken out; more in this Nation, than I could ever hear of or see in the Nations round about, though they profess the same Religion. I have been among many whom they call Reformed Protestants, but of true Protestants, such as hold out their Profession in their Lives, there are more in this Nation than else-where, and they are not to be compared for number, blessed be God, and the Lord increase them, and multiply them daily; For the glory of the Nation is not in a Multitude of People onely, but of such as Fear the Lord, and Worship God, and lift up his Name; and truly my desire and Prayer is, That the Gospel, the true and glorious Gospel of God, the Gospel of Jesus Christ may have a free course in this Nation, and may be glorified in the Lives of men as well as in their Words.

As for the particular Way of Worship that I am of, I shall onely say,

say, that in my Judgment and Conscience I have and do understand that which is called the Congregational way, to be nearest to the Word of God, and I do freely bear my Testimony to the Confession of it, that is extant, which was made at the *Savoy*: But with this, that also of the Assembly of Divines that was made in the time of the Long Parliament; and the Declaration they made concerning Religion, saving only as to the discipline-part: As to the other I do fully subscribe unto it; for I think that the said *Confessions* are the most clear of any Protestant *Confessions* (whereof I have seen divers) that are extant. And in Forreign parts they will confesse as much.

Mr. Sheriffs, As to what I shall desire for the Nation, (for truly we are taking our leaves of it, and we shall see your faces no more.) that which I upon the knees of my soul do beg for this Nation, is, That as they are Protestants in Name, and take that upon them in Profession, so their Lives may be answerable. Truly, nothing doth more dread my spirit, and cause me to fear the Wrath of God to come upon this Nation, then when I hear that amongst those which bear the Names of *Protestants*, there is such Prophaneness, Drunkenness, Swearing, and such Abominations that are not to be named, no not among Moral men. The Lord stop the course of them, as also the growth of Popery and Superstition, and that the Truth of God may break forth, and that men may love it: for truly, the Gospel is worth the loving; the Truths of God are worth loving: And if we love them, then truly God will love us, and bless us.

Mr. Sheriffs, For my own part, if there were any here that I knew I had wronged, I would ask them pardon and forgiveness, if I knew them. I must confess, I have been in many publick actions; I have been of all the Parliaments since the late King's Reign; and in the beginning of this Parliament, I must confess (I being called to it) did think it was my duty, to act according to the ability God gave me, and to deny my self. I thank God for it, I came with an Estate to the Parliament; and I bless God for it, I spent it while I sat in the Parliament. And truly, I thank God, they cannot find any Estate that I have forfeited; for I have none to forfeit. This business that we are here for, I was very far from being a Contriver of. When the Bill came into the House, I must confess, I being a Member of the Parliament, did somewhat wonder at it, and I did speak against it: but when it was past, and I was named, to be a Commissioner, truly, it being done by that, that was then called the Authority of the Nation, I did think I was bound to obey in that respect. I will say no more. I never
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fat but once in that they called the High Court of Justice, but for that I'll say no more. I do not come to condemn that Authority and Power; neither will I now (because the Parliament, and the Nation, and the Spirits of Men are against it) justify it. (And being a little interrupted, he said) I will not speak to offend any man. Truly, I thank God, I never got any thing, either of Kings Lands, nor Bishops, nor Dean & Chapters Lands, I never knew what belonged to the Trade of Buying or Selling Lands. I thought I was in a better way, looking to that Station which God had called me to: And as my Brother said, let men hold to their Stations, and to what God hath called them, and so serve God and their Countrey, and let them not be afraid. And I think it is the honour of good Christians, and of good People, to be obedient to the Government they are under, and to uphold it to the uttermost. I have not much more to say; If any man hath done me any wrong, (as I perceived when we came along, some peoples tongues were against us) I pray God forgive them. I desire not to open my mouth against any of those Reproaches we met with. Some I perceived did express their love, and their love to my soul; and I hope God will hear their Prayers. And while we are in the Land of the Living, I shall desire to do as we have done since his Majesty came unto the Government. When we were in *Holland*, we did pray for the King and the Government, and desired of the Lord that they might settle Peace in the Nation; which if we love our Countrey we ought to rejoyce in, and our private interests must give way to it. And truly I shall desire even from my very soul, that if any man here or elsewhere hath wronged me, that the Lord would forgive them. And truly the Court of Justice that pass their Judgement upon us, as the Law stands, I think, did according to their Places. And if we may have liberty in a few words to commend our selves to God, I shall trouble you no further. And I thank you for your Civility.

Then Collonel Okey spake a few words, as followeth.

Mr. Sheriff.

Col.
Okey.

I will not trouble you with any thing that he hath said, something of which I thought to speak, as to my own Judgement. But this I would leave among you that live in the land of the living. I have been in most Reformed places where they call themselves *Protestants*, but I must tell you, there is a great deal of difference between their Ministers and the Ministers that be in *England*; and so of their Professors. And therefore as God hath given you such Ministers as scarce any other Nation hath besides, so that you would honour and respect them; as also those

those that are Professors and godly People; not such as have a shew only, but those that are *really* such, that you would countenance them, and honour them: for, as for Ministers and People that live according to the Word, I think there is not such again in the World as are to be found in these Nations. I shall add one word further.

I was, as near as I can reckon, a Major and Colonel sixteen years in the Army, (I only speak that, because I have a word to say to another thing) I do not know whose Ox or whose Ass I took away in that sixteen years time; and if I have done any man any wrong, I hope and desire they will forgive me, as one that had many failings. And whoever hath proceeded against my Life, either in *England* or *Holland* (for there was one (who formerly was my Chaplain) that did pursue me to the very death, where I remained but two nights, and was going back again, for I had done my business) But both him, and all others upon the Earth, I forgive as freely, as I desire the Lord to forgive me. I have no malice either to Judge or Jury, but desire that the Lord would forgive them; as also those in *Holland* that sent us over, contrary to what they did engage to my Friends: We will say nothing of them, but pray God that our blood may not be laid to their charge, nor to the charge of any in *England*.

Then Col. *Barkstead* addressed himself to speak, as followeth.

Colonel Barkstead's Speech.

Mr. Sheriff,

I Shall as near as I can observe your order, and not willingly do any thing that shall give offence. I must confess the weakness of my body is such, which hath not been of a day, but of a long time, that it will not give me liberty to speak much; and I have had this advantage, that my Brethren have spoken before me, and were I to speak at large, I must speak over the same things which they have spoken already, and I am unwilling to trouble you with that, because you said your time was overslipped, and therefore I shall only speak to the Cause, as it was at first stated, (and, I hope, without offence we may say something to that, so far as the Acts of Parliament have sealed it up, or rather left it open. Truly, therein I did engage very freely at the beginning of the War, for *King and Parliament*, and in the place to which I was chosen, I bless the Lord he made me faithful to those I served: as to what hath been since that, I shall forbear to speak to, only in the general say, That before, and since I came into this late trouble, I have begged of the Lord to give me a sight of all my sins,

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and shew me a Pardon in the blood of Jesus Christ ; which, through free grace and mercy, I can say the Lord hath done. I could not have stood with so much Comfort as I do now at this time, if he had not given me an assurance of the Pardon of all my sins ; and where he hath spoken Peace, there is none can speak War or Trouble. I conceive it not proper to give you here an account of my Faith ; for if I should, I should go very little aside from my Brethren that have spoken before me : that which hath been my Judgment and my Practice, hath been the *Congregational way* ; I must own that, and do. I should much rejoyce to see a spirit answering that great Mercy that the Lord hath given to this Nation. I mean that great Mercy that he hath bestowed in giving them the Gospel, and that in such a manner, as truly we, though we have been some hundreds and thousands of miles among the *Protestants* abroad, yet I do not know it to be so pure, as it is in this Isle, blessed be the Lord : and I hope to the Nation of *England* the Lord will give hearts to walk accordingly.

And as to the business of the Government of this Nation, as it now stands, I have prayed for it, and can pray for it, and shall as long as I have breath pray for it ; and do from my soul desire that the Lord would bless the King, and give him a heart to rule for Him, and his Glory, and then I am sure the Lord will prosper him.

Indeed, as to those that fear the Lord in the Nation, I could wish that the Lord would settle them, and make them of one mind ; but that is the work of the Lord, and it must lye there ; and truly, He will do it in his time. I must confess I speak the rather to that, because there hath formerly been something acted by me towards persons that were not of my Judgment, which I have seen since was very hard ; and I bless God, I have seen it, and have been sorry for it : and therefore I do desire that all that fear the Lord, would make it their work and their business, to study to love God, and to love one another, and to love the Nation wherein they live, and to give no disturbance to it : For certainly, Sir, I should leave this, as that which the Lord hath settled upon my heart, their work is to sit still, yea, their strength is to sit still, for the Lord will do his work in his own time ; and when he comes to do the work, there is none shall hinder. I think you have had all experience of it in the late works which the Lord hath done ; for I must own it His.

Indeed, Sir, I am sorry that my weakness of body doth prevent me from speaking more to you ; yet I do bless God that I have this opportunity : All I shall say further, is, That there is a Truth (and I hope

hope I may speak it without offence) that is much upon my spirit, and I am confident I shall speak it without any offence at all. I think we are all here Christians, and there is none here (I think) but saith the Lord's Prayer, and sayes, *Thy Kingdom come, Thy Will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven, &c.* and I hope they go through the Prayer, and say why they do pray that Prayer; also say, *For thine is the Kingdom, the Power and the Glory, for ever, and ever, Amen.* God hath given the Kingdoms of the Earth to *JESUS CHRIST*, He shall Reign; and happy and blessed is that King and Nation that hath Him for their King. And, certainly, for his Majesty that now is, to reign under *Jesus Christ*, is no dishonour at all to him. For *CHRIST* doth, and shall Rule over all the Kings, Princes and Nations in the World. And therefore, indeed, this is that Kingdom that is most certain, and that we do desire, and all pray that it may come; and I do wish that all persons would have a tenderneſs, and not to be at enmity with, nor hate, nor, as much as they can, cut the throats of those that own that Kingdom, and the coming of that Kingdom.

As to other things, there hath been so much said, that I shall forbear speaking; only this, as to the business of the King, I bless God I can say it, I was no Actor or Contriver, either within or without. I was many miles from this place when that was doing: I was put in by the Authority that then sat, and I was called and chosen to that work; and truly, what I did, I did without any Malice, without any Contrivement in the least; and did even to the very last pray for him: And since his Majesty that now is, came to the Throne, I have, as I have prayed for my own soul, prayed for him, and that he may reign in Peace and Righteousness, to the Glory of God, and the good of all the people of the Nation. I shall not trouble you with more, because I see your time is past, and my weakness is such that I am necessitated to break off.

Then Col. Okey spake further, as followeth.

Mr. Sheriff,

It is not only our Judgments now, but it was our Practice when we were beyond the Seas; we did shun any Disputes, nay, we avoyded occasions of seeing our own Countrymen, because we would have nothing to do with the affairs in *England*, but to pray for them, and to perswade to be quiet, and to sit still; so that we may say, as *Paul* did in another case, *They neither found us in the Temple disputing, or wrangling, or stirring up the People; only our work was to pray for them.*

H 2

Then

Then Mr. Corbet said, Now we have done speaking to men, we may now speak unto our God; truly, he must help us, and give us his own Spirit: men may say prayers and reade them, but to pray in the Spirit, and to pray so, as to be accepted with God, requireth much strength and assistance from Him. Then Mr. Corbet addrested himself to Prayer.

Mr. Corbet's Prayer.

O Lord our God, our dear and heavenly Father; Thou that art the great and mighty God, the God of *Glory*: all the Nations of the World are unto thee as the drop of the bucket, and as the dust of the ballance. O Lord, what are we then that are dust and ashes, sinful dust and ashes? O! look upon us, look upon us in our Lord Jesus Christ that great Mediator. O we desire to come to thee in the Name of that blessed Mediator; we pray thee let us have acceptance through Him; O that we might come unto the Throne of Grace through Him, and obtain Mercy at thy merciful hand, and finde Grace and Help now in this time of need. Truly, Lord, it is a day, a day of need for thy poor Worms that stand in thy presence, that are despised of men, that are condemned of men, as not worthy to live in the world. O our God, thou mayest also justly destroy us, and thou mayest justly condemn us, and then woe be to us. Oh! Forgiveness belongs unto thee, Mercies belong unto thee. O Lord, we acknowledge our Iniquities here in thy presence, and in the face of this great People. O Lord, against thee, against thee only have we sinned, our Iniquities are gone over our heads, they are a mighty burden, too heavy for us. O Lord, we desire especially to bewail our Gospel-sins, our walking unworthy of the Gospel, our Barrenness under all the means of Grace that we have enjoyed; our Unthankfulness for those Glorious Appearances of our God in these dayes, in these Nations. O we have withheld thy Truth in unrighteousness: O we desire to bewail our sins against Love, and our sins against Light, and our sins against thy Mercies; though we have professed the Gospel, and the Truths of Jesus Christ, yet, O Lord, where is that Love, and that Fruitfulness that should have been found among us? O how much dishonour hath thy holy Majestie had from us in all our stations? O we desire also to be humbled for our Family-sins, and the sins we committed in our stations, that thou our God didst call us to. O Lord, we desire to acknowledge that thou art just and righteous in all thy Chastisements, thy great Chastisements that have been upon the Nation, and upon us, and our Families: We de-
sire,

fre, Lord, to humble our selves before thee, and to cover our faces with shame here in thy presence, and in the presence of this great Assembly. Wo unto us, for we have sinned against thee ! But, Lord, are there not Mercies with thee, are there not tender Mercies, multitudes of tender Mercies, that thou mayest be feared ? Truly, such poor Wretches as we are, coming in unto thee, have Mercy from thee through Jesus Christ. O these sins of ours, and of every one of us, and those multitude of sins that thy poor Worm that now speaks is guilty of in thy sight, our Lord Jesus Christ he hath born ; He was made sin for us. Now Lord, where sin is, there is shame and grief, and curse, and wrath, and death. O Lord, hath not He born our sins, and so likewise our shame, and carried our sorrows ? O Lord, what shame was cast upon Him, as thy poor Worms are at this day and at this time a shame in the eyes of many present ? O Lord, he was despised and rejected of men. O did not He suffer death ? did not that Righteous one, that Holy one suffer death ? O he dyed for those sins of ours ; He was cut off from the Land of the Living ; He poured out his Soul unto death. Nay Lord, blessed Father, it pleased thee to put Him to grief, and he hath born our sins ; and ô Lord, the chastisements of our Peace was laid on Him, he was made sin for us. Blessed Lord, we will lay all our sins upon the head of the scape Goat, upon our Lord Jesus Christ : Him thou hast given to be a Propitiation. O dear Lord, in him, and through his Blood thou hast found out a way of Atonement for sin, and by that one Oblation that he once offered, he is able to save to the uttermost all that come unto thee through him. Lord, we come in the blood of that Mediation, we desire to lay hold on the Atonement and Propitiation that he hath offered up unto thee ; O he hath satisfied thy Justice : He that knew no sin, he was made sin, and thou didst lay our sins upon him, and thou hast accepted of that satisfaction that he hath made, and thou hast raised him from the dead, and set him at thy right hand ; and though he dyed but once, yet by that one Oblation he hath satisfied for all our sins. O here is the Blood of God, the Lord Jesus Christ, which was God and man, O that Righteous one, he loved us, and dyed for us that we might live ; he bare thy Wrath, that we might be reconciled, that we might find mercy ; yea, and through him thou art merciful. Thou God of Mercy, shew Mercy to our souls, and to the souls of all those in this great Assembly that is met here : and, dear Father, accept us in his Mediation. O 'tis our comfort, though he dyed but once, having satisfied thy Justice, thereby he doth ever live to make Intercession for Sinners : Lord, here is Comfort for poor wretched Sin-

ners ;

ners; the Great Mediator that is so pleasant in thy sight, whom thou bearest alwayes; O he doth continually live to make Intercession for us: we pray thee, in and through Him, accept these poor Prayers of ours, these poor Petitions and Requests of ours, which we make known to thee: O it is pardoning love we seek, O Reconciliation with thee, before we go hence and be seen no more. O Lord, we do believe that thou hast sealed our Pardon, that thou art reconciled to us, and that there is Peace betwixt thee and our poor souls, through that great Peace-maker, else it would go ill with us now we are going out of this world. O come and sprinkle every one of our souls with that precious Blood. O that we, that are in our selves vile Wretches, may yet stand righteous before thee in his Righteousness. O the same Righteousness of Christ which thou hast appointed: for thou hast made him to be Righteousness for us, and Sanctification and Redemption, and He is the Lord our Righteousness. O put that Robe upon us, that glorious Robe of his Righteousness, that we may be presented now, not having our own righteousness, for that is like a vile filthy Rag, a menstruous cloth; but cloath us with that Righteousness, that we may be presented before thee in and through him without spot, and without wrinkle, before thy presence, through him with exceeding joy. O thou hast made him our King; O that he would now undertake our Cause, the Cause of our poor souls. Come, Lord Jesus thou King of Saints, come, tread our Enemies under our feet, especially that great Enemy. O Lord, he hath conquered Satan, he hath born our sins, and hath condemned sin. O he took the likeness of sinful flesh, and in his flesh condemned sin in the flesh; O that now through his Righteousness we might fulfil thy holy Law: He is our Righteousness, his obedience we now fly to. O dear Lord, thou hast set before us, as a Refuge to fly unto, that blessed hope, even those Glorious things the Gospel holds out. O the hope of Eternal Life, which thou that art the faithful God that canst not lye, hast promised unto us. O thou hast set this hope of perfect Justification and perfect Sanctification before us; O thou hast held it forth, this same hope of Righteousness thou hast set it before us, and now we fly unto it in this day of our distress to lay hold upon it. O thou art pleased, Lord, that we might have strong consolation, thou art pleased to confirm this thy Covenant with an Oath, That by two immutable things, the Covenant of God, and the Oath of God, we might have strong Consolation. Now we fly to this Covenant through Jesus Christ. O be a God in Covenant with us; Father, say to us everyone, that we are thine, that thou art in Covenant with us; and then say, Fear not, Worms. Else,

ah Lord God, now were we to encounter with Death, that King of Ter-
 rors, what would become of us? but O Lord, speak Peace to us, speak
 Comfort to us thou God of Comfort; O comfort our hearts: O Lord,
 it must be done by our dear Lord Jesus Christ himself. Our Father
 hath given us Everlasting Consolation; Come and comfort our hearts,
 O comfort us with thy Love O Lord: O set thy Banner of Love over us.
 Thou dost not despise the affliction of the afflicted, blessed be thy Name.
 We have found thee, Lord, we bear witness to thee before this great
 Assembly. O thou hast not despised the affliction of the afflicted, thou
 hast seen us in our low estate, and been very good to us. We have had
 a Banner of Love over us, and we bless thy Name for this very Affli-
 ction that thou hast laid upon us. O that we could bear witness to thee
 in the face of this great City, and before this great Assembly, of thy
 Goodness and Faithfulness, and of thy Mercy, which endures for ever.
 O we have tasted of thy Love, and it's good to cleave unto thee. Fa-
 ther, thou art a Refuge to the Poor, and Strength to the Poor and
 Needy: Come, and be a Refuge to us in this great Storm: truly, we
 are to go through a great Storm before we come unto thee; O that we
 may finde Death a sweet in-let and a passage into thy blessed Arms
 through Jesus Christ: When our poor souls shall be coming to thee, we
 pray thee give thy Angels charge over us, and strengthen us against
 the fears and terrors of Death. O let fresh strength come from Jesus
 Christ at this present. It is not all the Graces we have had will now
 do us any good, unless we have fresh supplies. Our fresh Springs are in
 thee; Arise O Spring. O the Fountain of Life, now let it come flow-
 ing upon our poor souls, that we may be presented before thee with ex-
 ceeding Joy. Lord, let us hear that same joyful Sound, Come, ye
 blessed of my Father. O though we be despised of men, and some they
 reproach us: O but Lord forgive them, and the Lord pardon them;
 whosoever hath done us any wrong, the Lord pardon them, through Je-
 sus Christ we beg it. And, blessed Father, we pray thee let us hear this
 joyful sound, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom
 prepared for you. O there is a Crown of Life laid up for them that
 love the Lord. Thou knowest thy poor Worms desire to love thee; O
 dear Lord, shed abroad thy Love in our hearts: and though we be now
 dying, yet we desire to love thy Name; though thou art now correcting
 us, yet we have cause to love thee, and bless thee; O shed abroad thy
 Love in our poor souls. O Lord we pray thee come and accept us, and
 let our cry come and pierce the heavens: O Lord let us now be looking
 for, and hastening to the glorious appearing of that blessed hope, our
 Lord

Lord Jesus Christ. He that shall come, will come, and will not tarry. Come quickly, Lord. O that thy Servants could see thee, ~~at~~ thy Servant Stephen, (in much what such a condition as we are in) he saw Jesus Christ standing at thy Right-hand. Though we cannot look upon thee with our bodily eyes, yet we desire to see thee with the eye of faith. O we pray thee look down upon us, and, Lord, strengthen our Faith; and that our Faith may not fail: O let us obtain the end of our Faith, the salvation of our Souls. And o that thou wouldst strengthen us according to thy Glorious Power, with all Patience in this hour. O Lord, though our hearts would faint, and flesh faint, o Lord, thou art the God of our strength; come, lay hold upon us, lead us by thy Righteousness, and let thy Everlasting Arms be under us. O dear Lord, let us taste of Love in this bitter Cup; o we pray thee let us see thee in Mercy; do not correct us in thy Wrath. O we bow our knees to thee, let not this Affliction be in thy Wrath: We are under the wrath of men; but, Lord, do thou forgive, and let us be under thy Love; and lay no more upon thy poor Worms, than the strength that thou shalt now give us through Jesus Christ, will enable us to bear: and come and take us into those Mansions that our Lord Jesus Christ hath prepared. Is it not thy promise to go and provide Mansions for us? our fore-runner is gone to appear for us in Heaven now before the Throne of Grace: O hear us now in him, and dismiss us now with a blessing. And the Lord bless this Nation; the Lord bless the Government; the Lord continue thy Truth, keep the Gospel still in this Nation, which hath been the glory of it; O let thy poor People glorify the Gospel in their lives, 'tis that we beg of thee for the Lord's sake: and do thou prevent those heavy Judgements that hang over our Nation: Lord, pardon those great Abominations that thine eyes do see, that Profanation of the Sabbath. O the spirit of Profaneness is broken out among us! O we desire to be humbled and mourn for it; Lord, turn from thy Wrath, and dear Father, continue thy Gospel in the purity of it. O the Lord forgive the sins of those that bear thy Name; thy Wrath is kindled against us, and therefore it is that thou dost rebuke us; but we pray thee give thy People a Spirit of returning to thee, and do thou heal our back-slidings, and give us a Spirit of Love to Thee and to thy Truths, and one to another; and take away the Envy betwixt Ephraim and Judah. Thou seest these bitter Contests; we pray thee put a stop to them, and let thy People be of one heart and one mind, and let them minde the great things of Jesus Christ, and those Truths that are after Godliness; let those be
more

more and more enquired after, and imbraced by the People of these Nations; and the Lord grants that those Superstitions and Idolatries that are a provocation in thy sight, may not be brought into the Nation; for thou art a jealous God, and if we go that way, thy Wrath will be kindled once more; but Lord, shew Mercy to England, and do not take away the Gospel, nor remove thy Golden Candlestick from the midst of us. And the Lord bless the Government, and the King thou hast set over us; that which we beg of thee for him, is, That he may rule righteously; and let him hate whom thou hatest, and love those whom thou lovest. And bless the Ministers of the Word, them that are faithful to thee, Lord, continue them in their Liberties, and let not our Teachers be removed into corners; bless them that are faithful to thee, and make them more faithful — (Being interrupted, after a while he proceeded as followeth.)

O Father, we have many Suits to put up unto thee: but we now commit our selves unto thee; here we are, Lord, we will rent our souls upon thee, and rest and wait for thy Salvation. We pray thee accept of us; forgive the sins of this duty; O sprinkle the Blood of the Lord Jesus upon us, and take us into thy Arms. Father of Mercy, that comfortest us in all our Tribulations, come and comfort us in this hour, and do thou accept of us in Christ, for through him we offer up our selves, our souls, a sacrifice. Father, accept of us, and our sacrifices. &c. The Conclusion was omitted, because of a busting among the horses.

Then Col. Okey addressed himself to Prayer, as followeth.

Colonel Okey's Prayer.

Most Glorious, most Holy, Eternal, and most blessed! Lord God, who art the glorious Creator and the blessed Maker of all things, who art from Everlasting to Everlasting, blessed for evermore; Thou art worthy to be praised from the rising of the Sun, to the going down thereof; Thou art the mighty God that art cloathed with Glory and Honour and Majesty, as with a garment, and Thou art the Fountain of all that's good, and the Well-spring of Everlasting-life. O Lord, we are once more in thy glorious Presence, the Lord hath been pleased to give us this opportunity, that we may once more pour out our souls to thee in the Name of Jesus Christ, before we go hence and be seen no more. Now we pray Thee for the Lord Jesus sake, as thou hast been pleased to put a price into our hands; so, O Lord, we pray thee for Jesus Christs sake give us hearts to improve it. O Lord

we pray thee convince us, in whose glorious presence we are, and of the great work we are now about; we are before Thee, the Eternal and Unchangeable Lord, who searchest the hearts, and knowest our thoughts, and Thou knowest with what intents we pour out our souls before Thee at this time. O blessed Father, we beseech Thee for Christ's sake, draw nigh to us, that we may draw nigh to Thee our God. O that Thou wouldst pour down Thy holy Spirit, that we may pour out our souls before Thee. O Lord, we pray Thee for Christ's sake, give us the Spirit of Wisdom, and the Spirit of Understanding, and the Spirit of Knowledge, and the Spirit whereby we may cry, *Abba, Father*. We are not now come to tell long stories of our Iniquities, time and strength would fail us, they are as the hairs of our heads, and as the sands of the Sea-shore: but, O Lord, we are before Thee in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, humbly to intreat and beseech Thee, O for the Lord's sake to look upon us; there was never any more unworthy of Mercy than we are, yet never any poor Wretches stood in more need of Mercy than we do. We humbly pray thee for the Lord's sake extend Mercy to us. O Lord, do not remember against us what we have done, but remember what the Lord *Jesus Christ* hath suffered; and when Thou hast look'd upon thy dear Son, then look upon thy poor Worms: O Lord, we humbly pray Thee for *Jesus* sake forgive whatever is past, cover us with the Righteousness of *Jesus Christ*, let none of our nakedness appear, we beg for the Lord's sake. O that the Lord would be pleased to speak Peace now to our souls. Blessed Father, we have in some measure (blessed be thy Name) the assurance of thy Love sealed to our Souls by thy glorious Spirit; we humbly pray Thee, O Lord, we beseech Thee for Christ's sake look upon us, and come and pour down thy glorious and holy Spirit upon us; and let us, we beseech thee, have yet more Assurance that our Sins are pardoned, that Thou hast found out a Ransom for us; that our Names are written in the Book of Life, and that we shall not die, but live for evermore, because we are washed with the Blood of Christ, even with the Blood of thy dear Son, who hath loved us, and died for us, and washed us with his own Blood. O that the Lord would be pleased now to come and warm our souls with thy Love, that they may never be cold more. O Lord, we beseech thee, receive us into the Everlasting Arms of thy Mercy. O Lord, we beseech Thee for Christ's sake, that Thou wouldst now let us see (as *Stephen* once did by the eye of Faith) even Heaven opened, and the Lord upon the Throne, and *Jesus Christ* at his Right-hand, and the glorious Angels receiving our

our souls into thy everlasting Mercy. Blessed Father, we beseech thee for the Lord sake, that Thou wouldst be with us, and bless us, and the Lord shew us Mercy onely upon the account of our Lord Jesus Christ. And we pray Thee bless us, and with us, all Thine all the World over; Remember thy Churches from the rising of the Sun to the going down of the same. Think upon this Nation wherein we live, we humbly beg for the Lord's sake, that *England, Scotland and Ireland* might live in thy Glorious Presence; and that *England* may be a quiet Habitation for thy People to dwell in. O for the Lord's sake, as Thou hast given them a Name, and a Gospel above any other Nations that we have heard of, or seen; So pour down abundance of thy Spirit; and give them Grace and hearts, that they may walk answerable to the Gospel, and be a Nation for thy Glory, more zealous than any other Nation. And Lord, we humbly pray Thee continue the Mercies they yet enjoy, and remove and divert any Judgements that they feel or fear. And for the Lord's sake, bless him that Thou hast been pleased to set over us, let the King live in Thy sight; we humbly beg that he may reign so here, that he may reign in Glory for ever; that he may be a nursing father to thy *Israel*, and that he may be a Friend to those that are thy Friends, and an Enemy to those that are thy Enemies, and Enemies to thy Gospel: let him remember that he is but a *Steward*, and he must ere long give an account, and the Lord grant that he may do it with much joy, and not with grief: and bless the Council, do thou pour down thy Spirit upon them, and guide and direct them to do the things that may be for thy Glory, and for the Comfort of their own souls. And bless the Faithful Ministers of the Gospel, O that the Lord would double his Spirit upon them, and that the Lord would be pleased abundantly to encrease the number of them; let not that Judgment come upon the Nation, that the Godly, Faithful and Holy Ministers should be removed from us, that their eyes should not behold their Teachers; Lord, let us not have a famine of thy Word for the Lord's sake, but that the Gospel may continue in more splendor and glory than ever it hath done heretofore. O that the Lord would be pleased to keep Idolatry out of this Nation; O let not that Judgment befall this poor Nation for the Lord's sake. And we humbly beg for thy Name sake, that the Lord would be pleased to look upon this great City; Thou hast made them famous for Religion, and for owning the Gospel; but Lord grant that they may not decline, but that they may abundantly improve their gifts and graces, and that they may walk humbly and

thankfully; and O that the Lord would be pleased to bless the City and the Nation from one end to another, and that he would give them the blessings of the right hand and the blessings of the left, that they may have the dew of Heaven, and the fatness of the Earth, and that they may provoke and stir up one another to praise thy holy Name, and to live in Love, Unity, and Peace. O Lord, we pray thee for Jesus sake, look upon us in thy presence, and shew Mercy to us, and look in love and mercy upon any that are near unto us; we leave them with Thee, we commit them into thy hands, we beg for the Lord's sake shew Mercy to us, and be with thy poor Servants; and, Lord, we pray thee, accept of us and our services in Jesus Christ, and pardon our deadness, and pardon our weakness, our wanderings, and all our sins, even for our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, since we came into Thy glorious presence; and we pray Thee to accept of us, and do us good, and receive us to Mercy and Glory; and all, only for the glory of thy Name, and for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us, and rose again, and lives for ever at Thy right hand; to whom be all Honour and Glory and Praise, for evermore.

Then Col. *Barkstead* addressed himself to Prayer, having first spoken to the Sheriffs these few words following.

Mr. Sheriff,

I do see your time is spent, and we are drawn up into a very narrow compass. And I hope you will take my word now as before, I shall only speak a word or two unto the Lord, and no more.

Colonel *Barkstead's* Prayer.

O Eternal and ever-blessed Lord God, Thou who sittest upon the highest Heavens, who hast the highest Heavens for thy Throne, and the Earth for thy Footstool; We poor Creatures are here by thy Providence, brought at this day, to this place, at this time, and by Thee it is that we are in the Condition we are now in; for which, O Lord, we bless Thee, and for which we can bless thy Name. Blessed be thy Name, O Lord, that Thou wert pleased before Thou broughtest us hither to speak Peace to our poor souls in the Blood of Jesus Christ; and blessed for ever be thy Name, that thou givest in Assurance of Peace, Pardon and Reconciliation to our Souls at this very minute, blessed be thy Name: Dear Father, for the Lord's sake continue it; and

and I draw forth the hearts of thy poor Creatures, even while one blast of breath is in us, to blesse thy holy Name. Father, we pray Thee, remember the Nation in which we live; the King whom Thou hast set over the Nation; Lord, make him Thine, and canse him to rule for Thee in Righteousness, and for thy Glory; that so, Lord, he may rule to the Comfort of all that fear thy Name. O dear Father, look in mercy upon all that fear thy Name in the Nation, make them all of one heart and mind to advance thy Name and Glory, to live in Unity one with another, and to make it their business to seek Peace and pursue it, that so they may thereby truly advance the Kingdom and Scepter of Jesus Christ, who is coming and will come: O dear Father, carry forth the spirits of thy People to love Thee, and one another, and to walk closely, and humbly, and holily before Thee all their dayes. Remember the Relations of thy poor Creatures here before Thee; Lord, do good to them that we leave behind us, we commit them into thy Arms; Lord, take them into thine Arms: O Lord thou hast said in thy Word, Leave thy fatherless Children; I will preserve them alive, and let thy Widows trust in me. Lord, it is thy Word, and this is thy Command that we should leave them with Thee; therefore we leave them in thy Arms. Dear Father, we desire from the bottom of our hearts, freely and fully to forgive all that we any wayes think have done us wrong in any kind whatsoever (freely and fully) either in England or elsewhere; and we pray Thee shew kindness to those that any wayes have shewed kindness to us, for the Lord Jesus sake reward all their labour of love a thousand fold into their bosoms. Look in mercy upon the Chief Magistrates that are here at this time; dear Father, pardon their sins, and reconcile them unto thy self in the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, in which we pray Thee wash their souls. And, O Lord, as for the person that is now appointed to take away our lives, and to destroy our Bodies, dear Father, do not Thou destroy his Soul, but wash his Soul in the Blood of Jesus Christ; Even that person that is to wash his hands in our Blood, O pardon him, and let not any of his sins be remembered before Thee. We leave our selves with Thee, and blessed be thy Name. Thou hast been good unto us, and thy Presence is with us, and there is nothing that gives trouble to us at this moment. Father, continue this thy loving-kindness to us. O Lord, thou hast not (blessed be thy Name) caused Death to be terrible to us; no Lord, thy poor Creature can say with freeness and comfort, that there hath not been any thing of trouble or terror that hath past thy Servant since he came into this place, either for what he is to suffer,

or the manner of his Sufferings, but here he is before Thee, and begs further help and strength from Thee, being willing to surrender up his Soul to Thee, in and through the Lord Jesus Christ.

Then Col. Okey spake a few words more, as followeth, *I did break off duty, because you desired it, and I would not be troublesome to you.* Then he very earnestly expressed himself further, as followeth. *O love the Lord, and hate all things that are evil. I have found by experience, more evil in the least sin, than good in any thing this world can afford. Therefore I beg it of all that are here, To love God, and to hate that that is evil. The Lord give you Peace and Truth.*

I hope our Relations shall not fare the worse for us, but that you will shew them kindness.

And as to what my Brother said, *I thank the Lord, I have the Assurance of his Love, and the Pardon of my Sins through the Riches of his Grace, and free love in Jesus Christ.*

After this Col. Barkstead called a young man, who was known to him, and taking a silver Box out of his pocket, he charged him to give it to his Daughter.

Their Speeches and Prayers being ended, the Executioner cleared the Cart of the rest of the People, who were gotten in, and then pulled down their several Caps over their eyes, and upon the lifting up their hands the Cart was drawn away; at which time Col. Barkstead especially was heard to say, *Lord Jesus receive our Souls;* and after he had hanged for a little space, he lifted up his hand.

That which many did especially take notice of, was, That there was not so much as the least attempt made by any to raise a triumphant shout upon the drawing away of the Cart; but there rather appeared the symptoms of an universal face of Sadness in that vast and generally tumultuous Assembly, who were the Spectators of their several Deaths.

They all hung near about a quarter of an hour: The first that was cut down was Col. Barkstead, who was quartered according to the Sentence, the other two hanging all the while.

The next cut down was Col. Okey, Mr. Corbet hanging still, who, after Col. Okey was quartered, had the Execution done upon him also, according to the Sentence. Their several Quarters were brought back to Newgate, about five of the Clock in the Afternoon, to be boyled.

A brief Account of Col. Okey's Funeral.

WHen Col. *Okey's* Body was quartered, it pleased the King to send a Warrant to the Sheriff of *London*, to deliver the macerated Body to be buried where his Wife should think meet. Which thing being granted, without Petition or Application from her, or his Relations; and the Rumour of his *Funeral* suddenly flying about the City, and the place appointed at *Stepney*, (where his first Wife lieth in a fair Vault, which he purchased formerly for a Burying-place for him and his Family) there was a numerous Concourse of sober, substantial People assembled to *Christ-Church*, to attend the Corps, and some thousands more were coming thither to that purpose; so that there were in view about Twenty thousand People attending that Solemnity at, and coming to the place aforesaid, who in a solemn and peaceable manner behaved themselves, as that affair required: Yet it so pleased the King to revoke this first Grant to *Mrs. Okey*, and by the Sheriff of *London* to disappoint and send home again the Company attending the Funeral; which Sheriff, with much harshness and many bitter words, did his work. The People, though much troubled at the disappointment, yet, so soon as they understood the King's pleasure, departed; and left the mangled Limbs to the dispose of them that had devoted them to the Gibbet and Ax; the Company left many a thousand sighs to attend him to his then unknown Grave.

That Night the Body was carried to the Tower of *London*, and there, by Mr. *Glendon* Parson of *Barkin*, was buried with the Service-Book, afresh wounding his bleeding Limbs thereby: but Rapes are imputed only to the Ravisher. Mr. *Glendon* could not but say, that his Body was laid there *in sure and certain hope of a Joyful Resurrection*. His Testimony was true, though a Poet of their own. And now there he lyes, and the Tower of *London* is his Tomb. His *Epitaph* he partly writ in the hearts of thousands at the place of Execution.

F I N I S.